

the same author in *IF*, 63, 40 sqq. and 209 sqq., *Wiener Ztschr. f. d. K. Süd-u. Ostasiens*, 1 (1957), 81 sqq., *ZDMG*, 1955, *63*, and 1957, 362 sqq. — P. THIEME, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*, 1939, and *apud* ALTHEIM (v. ad § 23). — W. P. SCHMID, *IF*, 64 (1958), 1 sqq.

§ 22. Ad Y 53: H. S. NYBERG, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 1938, 151.

§ 23. (a): E. SCHWYZER, *APAW*, 1939, No. 6. — (b): H. H. SCHAEDEER, *ZDMG*, 1940, 401 sqq. — (c): cf. W. LENTZ, *Yasna* 28 (v. ad § 21), 991. — In general: cf. F. ALTHEIM, *Zarathustra als Dichter*, *Faideuma*, iii (1949), 237 sqq.

§ 24. O. G. VON WESENDONK, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Yasna haptayhāti*, 1931 (*Untersuchungen z. allg. Religionsgeschichte*, Heft 3).

§§ 26-28. The common view on Achaemenian Zoroastrianism: cf. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 1953, 17-25; George G. CAMERON (v. ad § 6), p. 5; A. D. Nock, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*, 53 (1949), 272 sqq. — The year 441: S. H. TAQIZADEH, *Old Iranian Calendars*, 1938. — For a fuller presentation of the hypothesis here advanced v. I. CERSHEVITCH, *The Avestan Hyman to Mithra*, 1959, 13 sqq.; on *miθra ahura* v. *ibid.*, 44, 263.

§ 29. Translation of all Yašts: H. LOMMEL, *Die Yašt's des Avesta*, 1927; cf. also ad §§ 18-19.

§ 30. Metre of Yašts: W. B. HENNING, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 52 sqq. The reasons for the conclusion summarized in t 30, will be given elsewhere.

§ 31. Hermann GONTERT, *Ueber die ahurischen und daēvischen Ausdrücke im Avesta*, *Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Ak. d. W.*, 1914, No. 13.

§ 35. A. CHRISTENSEN, *Études sur le zoroastrianisme de la Perse antique*, 1928; *Les Kayanides*, 1932; *Die Iranier*, 214 sq.

§ 38. Mary BOYCE, see ad § 2, and in *Serta Cantabrigiensia* (presented to Members of the 23rd Internat. Congr. of Orientalists), 1954, 45 sqq.

§ 40. N: cf. ad § 19 (a), and A. WAAG, *Nirangistan*, 1941. — Aog: cf. ad § 19 (a), and J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *JAs*, 1936, i, 241. — Realities described in the V (and to a lesser extent in other Av. texts): W. GEIGER, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 1882; Horst BICHTNER, *Die Medizin im Avesta*, 1924; A. KAMMENHUBER, *ZDMG* 108, 1958, 299 sqq. (H. HUMBERT, *Ztschr. f. vgl. Sprachforsch.* 77 (1961), 99 sqq. (with K. HOFFMANN, *ibid.* 79, 238)).

§ 41. Magi as authors of the Avesta: E. BENVENISTE, *Les Magies dans l'ancien Iran*, 1938 (contra: H. H. SCHAEDEER, *OLZ*, 1940, 375 sqq.).

§ 42. W. B. HENNING, *JRAS*, 1942, 235 sq.

§ 43. REICHEL'S survey: v. ad § 19, (d). — (ch. 1): A. CHRISTENSEN, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad*, 1943; M. MOLÉ, *JAs*, 1951, 283 sqq. — (ch. 2): OTTO PAUL, *Wörter und Sachen*, 1938, 176 sqq. — (ch. 3): F. A. CANNIZZARO, *Il capitolo georgico dell'Avesta*, 1913. — (ch. 4): H. LÜDERS, *SPAW*, 1917, 347 sqq.

[Note: This article was submitted in July, 1955, and slightly revised in July, 1959.]

ADDENDUM

Some of the problems touched upon in the above chapter have meanwhile been treated more fully in *JNES*, XXIII, 1964, 12 sqq. by the present writer, who begs leave to draw attention to two considerations put forward in that article. One (p. 18) is that, contrary to previous opinion, Darius appears to mention Zoroaster's 'Entities' in the Behistun inscription, as he would surely not have done if his beliefs were not Zarathustrian (cf. § 14 above). The other (p. 20) concerns the decline of original Old Persian inscriptional production after Xerxes (see above, § 7). This is best attributed to loss on the part of professional scribes, of familiarity with the spelling conventions of the Old Persian script, and the loss, to the adoption of the Aramaic (and I would now add the Elamite) language and script as usual means of written communication. The later authors of inscriptions confined themselves to copying, with occasional slight alterations, phrases which Darius had coined. That their activity depended indeed on what they could copy from Darius, is virtually assured by the fact that their phraseology is restricted to that of Darius' low-level building inscriptions; it never extends to statements exclusively found in the Behistun and Naqā-i Rostam inscriptions, which texts were carved too high up the rock to be legible.

MIDDLE PERSIAN LITERATURE

BY

MARY BOYCE

I. INTRODUCTORY

The term Middle Persian is used of the Persian language between c. 300 B.C. and 950 A.C. The literary remains from this long period are comparatively few, and of secular works only fugitive pieces survive. For this there appear to be two main causes: one the radical change in themes and literary fashions brought about by the Arab conquest, the other the fact that only during the latter part of this period, the Sasanian epoch (c. 224 — 652 A.C.), did Persian literature begin to evolve from an oral (*uzwānīg*) to a written (*nibēsišnīg*) form. Writing had been used in Persia from the 6th century B.C. for practical purposes (royal proclamations and chronicles, state and private business); but its use was evidently not extended to religious or imaginative works until the early centuries of the Christian era. During the Sasanian epoch the Zoroastrian holy books and a number of secondary religious works were committed to writing, together with a quantity of other matter more or less connected with the faith, which has survived under the aegis of the Zoroastrian church. The Manichaean community also preserved religious writings in Middle Persian.¹ Secular works of entertainment, whether in verse or prose, appear to have continued in oral transmission until after the Arab conquest, and coming then gradually to suffer the neglect of fashion, passed irrevocably into oblivion. Only those one or two have survived which were rendered into Arabic, or remoulded in the newly-created forms of later Persian literature.

The bulk of what remains from the Sasanian period is thus more of religious and antiquarian than of purely literary interest; yet it is of great importance for the cultural history of Persia. Zoroastrian literature, having existed for centuries as a purely oral phenomenon, retained in its written stage various characteristically oral types of composition. Further, a number of individual works appear to be simply oral products of considerable antiquity, which were finally, because of some religious

¹ The Manichaean writings are treated separately in the next article

connotation, thought worthy of record in writing. The Sasanian books thus preserve elements from a yet older epoch, and provide a remarkable bridge between the two phases of Persian composition. The transition in Persia to a written literature, although evidently stimulated by foreign influences from east and west, took place without the imposition of an alien culture, and was thus a slow and steady process. The Arab conquest came when the evolution was well advanced. The dark centuries which followed obscure the later phases of the process, and only the Zoroastrian books provide material by which to trace its continuity.

The traditional forms of oral literature were evidently common to all ancient Iran. The content of individual works had, however, sometimes a local background. Most of the books preserved by the Zoroastrians were written down in Pars; but their subject-matter, where it has local connections, derives demonstrably not from Persia proper, but from north-eastern Iran. The *Kārnāmag i Ardašīr* is the only such work which appears to stem from genuine Old Persian traditions. Evidently, just as northern Europe took over with Christianity a Mediterranean culture, so Sasanian Persia embraced with Zoroastrianism the traditions of eastern Iran. The same may well have been true of late Achaemenian Persia, the eastern influences being merely strengthened at this later period by a new recourse to the sources of Zoroastrian tradition.

It is the tenacity of this tradition which makes the history of MP. literature difficult to write. A chronological approach is largely impossible, since a work written down in the 9th century A.C. may contain matter transmitted over hundreds of years; whereas a 6th-century composition may be original, and thus later in manner and content than the product 300 years its junior. Further, MP. literature has in the main those characteristics of oral literature, namely anonymity, community of style, conservatism in matter and free plagiarism, which make it impossible to trace individual contributions or phases of growth. The written element hardly becomes prominent before the 6th century, making then, through independent authorship, its equally characteristic contributions of originality in style and matter; but even here, in the works that survive, the authority of the religious tradition acts as a check on individual talent.

The persistence of ancient elements in MP. literature receives an accidental tribute in the term *Pahlavi* applied to it subsequently by the Persians; for this word properly means "Parthian", but came in time to have the general sense of "heroic, ancient", and thus was used to designate the pre-Islamic Persian culture, which seemed so remote to Muslim

Iran. The term was applied to the older language and literature in general, and not specifically to the Zoroastrian works which almost alone survive. There is in fact evidence that in the Sasanian period, as later, it was secular poetry which formed the bulk of Persian literature. This poetry was cultivated by a highly professional minstrel body. The Zoroastrian works, although one or two owe something to this minstrel-poetry, were the products of priests, the scholars of their age, men concerned with knowledge and virtue, not with entertainment. They are therefore highly serious, and factual within the limits of theological dogma and scholastic learning. All branches of study pursued were developed in connection with the exegesis of sacred texts; and a history of the surviving MP. literature may therefore properly begin with the fundamental work of the period, namely the MP. translation, with commentaries, of the Zoroastrian holy books.¹

2. THE SASANIAN AVESTA WITH ZAND

It is not certain when the Avesta was first written down, but it is generally held that it was during the Sasanian period.² The first attempts

¹ Two main systems of transcription of the so-called Pahlavi script exist; by the one it is sought to represent early Middle Persian, by the other the MP. of the Sasanian period. The second system is used here. There are many small differences between the two systems in the spellings of proper names and book-titles.

² The tradition of a written Arsacid Avesta is now rejected by most; see, e.g., H. W. BAILEY *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (Oxford, 1943), 156 ff.; H. S. NYBERG *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, deutsch von H. H. SCHAEFER (Leipzig, 1938), 416 ff. In the Manichaean *Kephalaia* (ed. H. J. POLOTSKY and A. BOHLIG, Stuttgart, 1940), 7:31-33 it is stated: "Zoroaster . . . did not write any books. But his disciples after his death remembered [his words] and wrote the books they read today". H. H. SCHAEFER, in *Morgenland* Heft 28, (Leipzig, 1936) p. 80f., has pointed out that the books referred to in this 3rd century text may well be the pseud-epigrapha current in the west under Zoroaster's name, rather than genuine Zoroastrian writings. The possibility that in fact a stimulus was given by the Manichaean scriptures to the writing of the Avesta has been considered (NYBERG op. cit. 415 ff., *J. Cama Or. Inst. No. 39* (1958), 30 ff.; M. MOLÉ *Mélanges Henri Grégoire IV* (1953), 289 ff.). On the various traditions concerning the transmission of the Avesta (all of which differ in small points) see BAILEY, op. cit. 151 ff.; NYBERG, loc. cit.; M. MOLÉ *Oriens* 13:14, 1961, 1 ff.

[N.B. Standard abbreviations for names and editions of Pahlavi texts are used here in footnotes. A key to most of these can be found, e.g., in C. BARTHOLOMAE *Die Zend Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (München 1915), xi ff. An attempt has been made to list in footnotes the editions of Middle Persian texts which have appeared since E. WESTR'S survey in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (1896-1904) II 75 ff. Since then all Pahlavi MSS. in Copenhagen have been published in a facsimile edition: *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici bibliothecae universitatis Hafniensis*, ed. A. CHRISTENSEN, 1931-44. The following catalogues of Pahlavi collections have appeared, in addition to BARTHOLOMAE'S: a 2nd ed. of E. BLOCHET *Catalogue des manuscrits mazdéens . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1905); M. N. DHALLA, 'Iranian manuscripts in the Library of the India Office' *JRAS* 1912, 387-98; B. N. DHABMAR *Descriptive Catalogue of all MSS. in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari* (Bombay, 1923) and *Descriptive Catalogue of Some MSS. bearing on Zoroastrianism and pertaining to the Different Collections in the Mulla Feroze Library* (Bombay, 1923); J. M. UNVALA *Collection of Colophons of MSS. bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe* (Bombay, 1940).]

Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. I, Bd. IV, Abschn. 2, Lfg. 1

were presumably made with the Pahlavi script (on the deficiencies of which see W. B. HENNING, *Handbuch I, IV* 1, 22 ff.); but this evidently proved inadequate for recording holy texts in a dead language, and from it was evolved the beautiful and precise Avestan alphabet of 46 letters. This, which represents a considerable technical achievement, was probably in being by the reign of Xosrau I, when the canon of the 21 *nasks* or divisions of the Avesta appears to have been finally established by a council presided over by the high-priest Wehšābuhr.¹ With the carefully-forged instrument of the new alphabet, the Avestan texts were set down in their late Sasanian priestly pronunciation.²

This Avesta of the 21 *nasks* was a huge compilation (of which the extant Avesta is only a small part).³ It was held to contain "words of all knowledge" (*wisṣ-dānāgih gōwišnān*, *DhM.* 646-7), and comprised, as well as the liturgical texts which survive, works on cosmogony and eschatology, astronomy and natural history, law and medicine, the life of the prophet and the history of man, extracts from ancient myth and epic, and collections of gnomic lore. The Eastern Iranian language in which it was composed was known to the Sasanians only as a church-language; and already those parts in the older Gathic dialect were imperfectly understood. Much labour was accordingly spent in exegesis. During the Sasanian period the whole Avesta was translated into Middle Persian. The translation consists of a word-for-word rendering, often faithful even to the Avestan syntax. Since the word-order of the two languages is very different, the result is necessarily clumsy and often obscure. There are therefore accompanying glosses, in which the sense is rendered into a freer Middle Persian. The MP. translation survives for the *Gāthās*, the *Yasna*, a few *Yašts*, and *Vendidad* and *Nirangistān*.⁴ The latter two

¹ See WEST *SBE* XVIII 297 n. 2; BAILEY op. cit. 173.

² See BAILEY op. cit. 193; G. MORGENSTIERNE *Norsk Tidsskrift f. Sprogvidenskap* XII (1940) 30 ff.; HENNING *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, London 1942, 48.

³ For the names and contents of the 21 *nasks* see WEST *SBE* XXXV II, 418-47 [some corrections to readings by B. N. DHABHAR *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others, their Version with introduction and notes* (Bombay 1932) 4-9]. On the extant Avesta see I. GERSHEVITCH in the preceding article.

⁴ Translations must once have existed also for all the *Yašts* (see BAILEY, op. cit. 129; J. C. TAVADIA *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier*, hg. v. H. JUNKER (Leipzig, 1936) 39).—Since WEST's survey the following editions or translations have appeared of the Zand of extant Avestan texts: B. N. DHABHAR *Zand i Khurak Avistak* (text, Bombay, 1927, translation, Bombay, 1963) and *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad* (Bombay, 1949); M. B. DAVAR *The Pahlavi Version of Yasna IX* (Leipzig, 1904); J. UNVALA *Neryosangh's Sanskrit Version of the Hom Yašt (Yasna IX-XI) with the original Avesta and its Pahlavi Version* (Vikarna, 1924); M. N. DHALLA "The Pahlavi Text of the Ormazd Yašt" in *Hoshang Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1918), 378-91, and *Nyaishes or Zoroastrian Litanyes* (New York, 1908); H. JAMASP *Vendidad, Avesta text with Pahlavi translation and commentary, and glossarial index* (Bombay, 1907); B. T. ANKLESARIA *Pahlavi Vendidad* (Bombay, 1949) [ed. by D. N. KAPADIA, author of *Glossary of Pahlavi Vendidad* (Bombay,

are works not distinguished even in the original for literary merit. For their MP. rendering, and indeed for the MP. translation in general, it is impossible to claim the smallest literary distinction, although its philological usefulness is considerable. The translation is accompanied by exegetical passages, some of which are lengthy, the product of generations of priestly scholars, one commenting upon the interpretation of another, a late redactor citing the conflicting opinions of predecessors. The individual commentators, many known by name, are modest, and prepared to admit perplexity: "To me it is not clear" (*um nē rōšn*); but collectively their work had immense authority, for together with the interpretive glosses it made up the Zand.

The exact meaning of the word Zand is uncertain, but it was probably something like "understanding" or "elucidation". There evidently existed an ancient Zand in the Avestan language, and some Avestan glosses have been incorporated in the texts they interpret; but to the later church the Zand came to mean above all the MP. interpretations of the holy texts, whether glosses or exposition. As the heir (in theory at least) to an ancient exegetical tradition, the MP. Zand was accorded great authority, and even held to be divinely inspired;¹ and eminent Sasanian priests, no less than Zoroaster's first disciples, were venerated as *pōryōtkēšan* "possessors of the primitive [i.e. the true] faith".

No clear distinction is made by the Phl. writers between the Avesta in the Avestan language (*ēwāz ī abastāg nām*, *DhM.* 455.11) and its MP. translation.² In the MSS. the translation, with the Zand, follows the Avestan text verse by verse or sentence by sentence; and both text and commentary were memorised. There were learned priests said to know the whole Avesta with Zand by heart (*hamāg abastāg ud zand wārm*, *Ep. M.* I 4. 11); and stories are told (*Dh.* VI) of priests reciting together the *abastāg ud zand* as they went about their other labours. As late as the 9th century it was explicitly stated: "it is reasonable to consider the living spoken word more important than the written" (*zindag gōwišnīg saxwan az ān ī pad *nibišt mādagwardar hangārdan čimig*).³ It does not

1953]); S. J. BULSARA *Aṛpāstān and Nirangistān ... translated* (Bombay, 1915); A. WAAG *Nirangistān* (Leipzig, 1941) [Avestan text, with Pahlavi translation and glosses, but without the Pahlavi commentaries]. M. F. KANGA has translated the *Pahlavi Version of Yašts* (Bombay, 1941); the *Pahlavi Version of Āfrinagān Artakhravakhs* (*Sanj Varāman Annual*, Bombay, 1943, pp. 1-3) and *Pahlavi Yašn Hā VIII (Siddha Bhārati, Hoshiarpur, 1950, pp. 1-7)*. For penetrating general comments on the Phl. translation see K. F. GELDNER, *GIP. II* 133 42-49 (English translation by D. MACKICHAN in *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian studies in honour of ... F. SANJANA*, (Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904), 71-81).

¹ See J. DARNESTETER *Études iraniennes II* 43 n. 2; BAILEY op. cit. 162-63 (citing *DhM.* 459.8 ff.).

² See BAILEY op. cit. 167.

³ *DhM.* 460. 7-8 (see BAILEY op. cit. 163).

seem likely that many MSS. of the whole Avesta ever existed; and probably for this reason the Muslims did not consider the Zoroastrians as "people of the book."¹ Nevertheless, for the most detailed sections of the surviving Zand, those of the *Vendīdād* and *Nirangistān*, not completed till after 632 A. C.,² it is difficult not to suppose that it was the existence of the written text which made possible the elaboration of commentaries.

These two works are largely concerned with matters of ritual and observance, and the commentaries therefore remain narrowly within ecclesiastic tradition. It is evident, however, that in the Zand of some of the lost *nasks* the priestly scholars drew from wider fields of foreign science, making use, that is to say, of foreign books. The evidence for this comes from two sources: the later Pahlavi compilations, derived from the Avesta, and old Arabo-Persian works. Thus, for example, "there is . . . much evidence in the old [Arabic] books of astronomy and astrology to show that the astronomical knowledge obtained from old Persian sources was mostly derived from the Sasanian Avesta itself."³ The chief foreign influences to be traced in MP. science and literature were those of India, Greece and Babylon. Some Greek influence is perhaps ancient, but Greek writings were presumably known to the Sasanians through Syriac translations from the 5th century onwards. The following Greek and Indian learned works have been traced in Middle Persian writings, or in Arabic translations from them:⁴ from Greece (probably largely through Syriac translations) works by Aristotle, including his *περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς*, and by non-Aristotelian philosophers, with general references to "Greek philosophers" (*hrōm filisōfāy*) and the Sophists (*sōfistāy*): Ptolemy's *Almagest* (*magistag ī hrōmāy* by Ptolemy) and other mathematical works, including books on geometry (*nibēg ī zamīg-paymānēh*); the Hippocratic treatises *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* and *περὶ ἐβδουμάδων*⁵ and other medical works; astronomical/astrological works⁶ by Dorotheos of Sidon, Teucros and Vettius Valens, as well as the legendary Hermes; and works on agriculture. Greek moral

¹ See BAILEY op. cit. 169; NYBERG *Die Religionen* 13. On the Syriac evidence for oral transmission see F. NAU *RHR* XCV 1927, 149-99 and *JA* 1927, 150 ff.; J. DE MENASSE *BSOS* IX 1938, 587 n. 2.

² See WAAG *Nirangistān* 10.

³ S. H. TAQIZADEH *BSOS* IX 1 (1937), 135.

⁴ For the first-mentioned works see BAILEY op. cit. 80-87, 98, 105; for some supporting evidence on the works of Aristotle see R. C. ZAEHNER *Zurvan* (Oxford, 1955) (index s.v. Aristotle).

⁵ The theory that this treatise represented a pre-Sasanian influence from Iran on Greece (A. GÖTZE *ZII* II (1923), 167 ff.) has been disproved; see J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN *Harvard Theological Review* XLIX 2 (1956), 115 ff., *The Western Response to Zoroaster* (Oxford, 1958), 72 ff.

⁶ On these see C. A. NALLINO in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922), 345 ff., and in *ERE* XII 90-91; A. BARRISSON *JA* 1935 i, 300-05; S. H. TAQIZADEH *BSOS* IX 1 (1937), 125 ff.

philosophy does not appear to have been studied. From India¹ came works of logic (*tark* < Skt. *tarka*) and rhetoric (*avyākaran* < *vyākaraṇa*), treatises on astronomy (making known the *zīg ī hindūg*, and the Indian system of lunar mansions) and on horoscopes (*hora*); and a compendium on the origin of the four castes from the primordial Puruṣa.² Indian medicine, as well as Greek, was studied at Weh-andyōk-šābuhr (Gundešābur)³ and Indian herb-names are found in the Pahlavi books.⁴ Babylonian astronomical works were also probably translated during the Sasanian period.

The history of Sasanian astronomy provides some help for dating these translations. "Under Sasanian rule there were two periods of contact with Greek and Indian science during which the study of astronomy was promoted: one under Shapur I after the conclusion of the Roman war, the other 'towards the end of the Sasanian period'."⁵ The Persian astronomical canon (*zīg ī šahrīyārān*) was drawn up during the first period, in 263/4 A. C.;⁶ the Indian system of lunar mansions was borrowed during the second, ± 500 A. C.⁷ It seems likely that these two periods were favourable for intellectual activity and foreign contacts in general.⁸ Such works as have an indication of date belong, not surprisingly, to the later period.⁹

The translated works were evidently preserved as independent treatises, some being in due course rendered into Aramaic or Arabic. They probably also inspired independent treatises by Sasanian scholars (one Andarzgar is mentioned as an astronomer who wrote books). A tradition exists, however, that these scientific works from abroad were also somehow brought into association with the Avesta itself. The MP. phrase is *abāg abastāg abāz handāxti* (*DkM.* 412.21). The precise significance of

¹ For these see BAILEY op. cit. 80-81, 86; de MENASSE *JA* 1949, pp. 2-3, and *Une Encyclopédie mazdéenne, Le Dēnkart* (Paris, 1958), 27; HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 242 ff.

² See S. K. HODIVALA in *Oriental Studies in honour of G. E. Puvy* (London, 1933), 140-41; ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 137.

³ On the traces of Indian medical theory in Sasanian works see TH. NÖLDEKE *Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kahla wa Dimna übersetzt und erklärt* (Strassburg 1912), 22 f., A. CHRISTENSEN *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (2nd ed., Copenhagen 1944), 425.

⁴ BAILEY op. cit. 81 with n. 3.

⁵ HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 245.

⁶ TAQIZADEH op. cit. 234 ff.

⁷ HENNING loc. cit.

⁸ There is a Manichaean text which suggests that Šābuhr's son, Bahrām I, was not in sympathy with the study of medicine (see HENNING *BSOS* X 4 (1942) 951 n. 8); this increases the likelihood of a general reaction against foreign science during his reign.

⁹ A book on Aristotelian logic, and the work of Teucros, are both said to have been translated in the reign of Xosrau I, and the rendering of Valens' *ἀνθολογία* (*Wisdag*) is popularly attributed to the same reign. (On literature and science in general at the time of Xosrau I see CHRISTENSEN *L'Iran* 415 f.).

abāz handāxt is debated (the words have been variously translated as "restored to", "joined with", "compared with" etc.);¹ but whatever the shade of meaning, the evidence of the Pahlavi compilations and Arabo-Persian books shows that foreign learning did somehow penetrate the holy writings; and since it is improbable that any but an imitative and stammering Avestan was composed in Sasanian times, it must have been the MP. text that was thereby affected. The MP. translators of the Avesta aimed, however, at complete faithfulness, and therefore it can only be in the Zand that new material was adduced. That this in fact happened appears from the derivative Phl. works, where ancient dogma and later science subsist side by side. Thus the Avestan texts evidently preserved such pre-Achaemenian beliefs as that, for example, the sun and moon were further from the earth than the stars;² it was the commentators presumably who, helpless to alter dogma, adduced nevertheless more advanced Babylonian theories, and Greek and Indian teachings, thus incorporating these in the "Avesta with Zand", and giving them, in course of time, the authority of "sayings of the ancients" (*pōryōtkēšān gōwišnān*). To the commentators also must be credited such difficult fusions as the introduction of the four Empedoclean elements into traditional cosmological doctrines,³ and the association of Hippocratic and Indian teachings with ancient Iranian medical theory.⁴ The surviving Zand, suggesting as it does that the Sasanian priests were engrossed by a narrow study of ritual and ordinances, does them injustice. Their work had evidently a far greater breadth; and to their intellectual labours⁵ Islamic Persia was to owe much.

The assimilation of foreign learning depended on the use of books. Thus the exegesis of the Avesta thrust Sasanian scholars into book-learning, and must have been a powerful stimulus to the growth in Persia of literacy in the narrow sense.

3. THE LATER RELIGIOUS WRITINGS

The Avesta being such a huge and miscellaneous compilation, it was natural that smaller collections of holy texts should exist separately. The liturgical texts which form the extant Avesta were evidently in being as a

¹ See most recently M. MOLÉ *Oriens* 13-14 (1961), 5 ff.

² See HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 229 ff.

³ See ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 141.

⁴ See CHRISTENSEN *L'Iran* 418 ff.

⁵ On the severity of the intellectual tasks confronting the Sasanian priestly scholars see further BAILEY op. cit. 117 ff.

group in pre-Sasanian times. The *Nirangistān* also survives separately, with part of the *Hērbadistān*, as a work of practical use for priests. It too is accompanied by its Zand.

A step which must, however, have been made after the establishment of the canon was that of excerpting from the Avesta passages relating to particular themes. This is an activity belonging necessarily to an established written tradition, whereby it becomes possible to select, compare and compile from texts simultaneously available. When the first of such selective compilations was made is unknown; but in those which survive only the MP. translation with Zand is drawn upon, the passages being chosen and set together to form a continuous treatment. This development, which seems so natural, as the comprehension of Avestan dwindled, may well in fact have been a slow and difficult process, since the holy language was deeply venerated. There is no evidence for such compilations before the Arab conquest; and although an argument *ex silentio* is dangerous in this sparsely-documented field, it is nevertheless probable that the development took place slowly during the 7th to 9th centuries, being stimulated perhaps by the needs of a church on the defensive. Freed from the thorniness of texts in a dead language, such compilations must have been both easier for Zoroastrians themselves to study, and more persuasive for those wavering in the faith.

A good illustration of the development is provided by the short treatise *Šāyist nē-šāyist* ("Allowed and not-allowed"),¹ which covers a number of miscellaneous topics, loosely joined by the thread of sin and ritual purification and atonement. Its matter derives directly from the Zand. A number of nasks are cited, mostly from the legal group; but it is more often the commentary than the translation which is invoked, sometimes in general terms, "the authorities have taught" (*dastwarān ēāšt*), often with the name of the commentator.² Similarities in style suggest that *Šāyist nē-šāyist* was compiled by the same priests who made the final redaction of the Zand of the *Vendīdād* and *Nirangistān* (evidently ritually-minded men).³ It must accordingly have been

¹ An edition of this text, with supplementary texts, by M. B. DAVAR was printed in Bombay in 1912, but never published. It was destroyed by fire at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay, in 1945. A few copies are in private hands, and one of these was used (with acknowledgements) by J. C. TAVADIA in his edition, *Šāyist nē-šāyist* (Hamburg, 1930), which has the text in transcription only, together with English translation, notes and glossary. A similar edition of the supplementary texts was submitted for a doctoral thesis of Bombay university by F. M. KOTWAL in 1966.—Few Pahlavi books have an old title preserved. Usually they are named after their opening words, or a significant phrase (as here), or by a descriptive title given later.

² For the names of the commentators cited see BARTHOLOMAE *Zend Hss.* 49; two separate priestly traditions have been discerned among them (TAVADIA op. cit. 29 n.).

³ See DARMESTETER *Ét. ir.* II 42; WAAG op. cit. 44.

written after 632 A.C. Although its casuistry is unattractive, the treatise is interesting for its religious technicalities and rare terms.

A much more important and fundamental work of compilation is the *Bundahišn* ("Creation"), also called *Zand-āgāhīh* ("Knowledge from the Zand"),¹ which survives in two recensions, the *Great* (or *Iranian*) *Bundahišn* and a shortened version, the *Indian Bundahišn* (deriving from a different MS. tradition).² One of the two great Zoroastrian compilations, this work probably grew through different redactions, from some time after the Arab conquest down to 1178 A.C. (when a few additions were made in imperfect Middle Persian). The last important redaction belongs to about the end of the 9th century.³ The *Bundahišn* has three main themes: creation, the nature of earthly creatures, and the Kayanians (their lineage and abodes, and the vicissitudes befalling their realm of *Ērānšahr*). The compiler does not name individual sources; but the work shows an encyclopaedic knowledge of the Zand,⁴ and exemplifies excellently the process whereby treatises on chosen themes were created out of the scriptures. Many passages evidently derive fairly closely from the Middle Persian translation, for an Avestan syntax underlies them;

¹ Against CHRISTENSEN's rejection of this second title (*Kayanides* 45 f.) see TAVADIA op. cit. 74.

² See WEST *GIP* ii 98. The *Great Bundahišn*, ed. by T. D. ANKLESARIA, was pub. by B. T. ANKLESARIA (Bombay, 1908). For this edition the MS. TD¹ was used. TD¹, a very good MS., was not collated. A copy of TD¹, made for DARMESTETER, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS. Supp. Pers. 2043). This was collated by H. W. BAILEY, who kindly made his collation available to other scholars (see CHRISTENSEN *Le premier chapitre du Vd.*, 8; ZAEHNER *Zurvan*, 277). A complete English translation with notes was made by BAILEY for a D.Phil. thesis in Oxford in 1936. Another English translation, under the title *Zand-āgāhīh*, was made by B. T. ANKLESARIA, but the printed copies perished in the fire of 1945; it has now been published by offset process by the Rahnumāe Mazdayasnān Sabhā (Bombay, 1956). An edition by K. BARR with text, translation, notes, glossary and concordance, is in preparation. The following chapters have been separately edited since WEST's survey: I and III by NYBERG *J.A.* 1929 i, 207-37, 260-310, and by ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 278-336; I also in NYBERG's *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Uppsala, 1928) [on GBD. 10 see BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 94 n. 2 with references]; II by HENNING *JRAS* 1912, 229-48; the beginning of IV by ZAEHNER op. cit. 355-9 [see CHRISTENSEN *Le Premier Homme* (Uppsala, 1918) 15 ff., E. BENVENISTE *MO* XXVI (1932), 187 ff.]; extracts from V, and XXV, by NYBERG *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender* (Uppsala, 1934), 10-29; XXVIII by A. GÖTZE *ZfBd.* II (1923), 60 ff.; XXX by J. J. MODI in *A paper read before the Bombay branch of the RAS*, 1901 (pub. Bombay, 1902); XXXIII-XXXIV by G. MESSINA *Orientalia* IV (1935), 259 ff. A series of passages are transcribed and translated by SCHAEFER in *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* 213 ff., and by ZAEHNER in *Zurvan* (see index, p. 460); GBD. p. 51 ff. is translated with notes by S. H. TAQIZADEH, *Gāh-Sumārī dar irān-i qadīm*, (Tehran, 1937), 326-29, see further D. N. MACKENZIE, *BSOAS* XXVII 3 (1964), 511-29. A number of passages were transcribed and translated by M. MOLÉ in his posthumous *Culte, Mythe et Cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 1963), see index, p. 592.

³ See GBD. 237, 15 ff. The passage (upon the genealogies of priestly families) is not found in the Ind. Bd. Unfortunately it is not wholly clear, either in the forms of some names or in the degrees of descent. On it see MODI *A Paper read before the Bombay branch of the RAS*, 1901 (Bombay, 1902), 6; DRABHAR *NM.* p. 3 n. 1; B. T. ANKLESARIA GBD. II; TAVADIA op. cit. 75. On corroborative evidence for a late 9th-century dating see WEST *SBE* V xli-xliii; DARMESTETER in a paper read to the *Jarikhōshī: Dēnni-khol-karnārī Mandī* (Bombay, 1887).

⁴ See CHRISTENSEN *Kayanides* 47 f.; HENNING *JRAS* 1942, 229.

and one section consists simply of the translation of the 1st chapter of the *Vendīdād* coinciding (except in small details) with the canonical Zand.¹ Glosses and commentaries provide part of the continuous text, and in these, foreign learning is adduced. There are also a few isolated attempts to bring the work up to date, by the identification of traditional (and even mythical) geographical names with Arabic ones. In the main, however, the absorbing interest of the *Bd.* lies in the antiquity of its material. Here is preserved an ancient, in part pre-Zoroastrian picture of the world, conceived as saucer-shaped, with its rim one great mountain-range, a central peak thrusting up, star-encircled, to cut off the light of the sun by night; a world girdled by two great rivers, from which all other waters flow; in which yearly the gods fight against demons to end drought and famine, and to bring protection to man. Natural phenomena are speculatively explained; the sprouting of the plants, for example, is ascribed to the mythical Tree of All Seeds growing in the ocean, whose seeds are mingled with water and so scattered annually over all the earth when the god Tīstar brings the rains. Not only is the matter ancient and often poetic, but the manner of presentation, although arid, is of great antiquarian interest; for after the distinctively Zoroastrian account of creation, the speculative learning and legendary history is set out in traditional oral fashion, that is to say, in schematised mnemonic lists: so many types of animals, so many kinds of liquid, so many names of mountains, so many great battles. This is the learning of ancient Iran, as it must have been evolved and transmitted by generations in the priestly schools.

If the *Bd.* is compared with, for example, such a work as the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, so little later than its final redaction, it becomes probable that one reason why Zoroastrianism yielded generally to Islam is that over the centuries Zoroaster's noble religious and ethical conceptions had become fused with a mass of traditional lore, which acquired through association with his teachings the authority of dogma. The later adherents of Zoroastrianism were thus straitened by outworn conceptions, and many a Sasanian must have been torn between orthodoxy and scientific truth. The new religion offered escape to a relative freedom of the mind.

The *Bd.* has in the main the anonymity of traditional material; but the 9th-century redactor gives his own genealogy, and names some of his contemporaries, among them Zādspram, son of Juvānjam, selections from whose own writings also survive. These *Selections*, the *Wizīdagihā ī*

¹ See CHRISTENSEN *Le premier chapitre du Vd.*, 7.

Zādspram,¹ likewise consist of excerpts from the Avesta and Zand, on several themes: creation, legends about Zoroaster, the formation of man (from body, life and soul), the deeds of the hero-prophets, and the restoration of the world of good. The work shows the advantage of a single hand. It is much slighter than the *Bd.*; but where the two coincide, the *Wizīdagihā* are notably free from the repetitions which characterise the other work (created presumably by successive redactors adding fresh matter from different parts of the scriptures). No Pahlavi work is easy reading, because of the script, and the obscurity of allusions to events and persons since forgotten; but these general difficulties apart, the *Selections* of *Zādspram* provide in the main a plain and intelligent summary of some of the fundamental legends and beliefs of the Sasanian church. In places, e.g. on the formation of man, there is a noticeable tincture of Greek philosophy, derived presumably from the exegetical passages of the Zand.² In these more complex passages the difficulties of the text can be considerable.

Zādspram also wrote a "Compendium on the Enumeration of Species" (*lōxm-ušmārišnīh hangardīg nibēg*),³ unfortunately lost. Evidently his interests lay in fields other than ritual and observance; and in fact he attempted to introduce a simplification into the important *barsōm* purification-ceremony, which aroused indignation among his congregation at Sirkān. They appealed to the high-priest of Pars and Kirman, who was Manuščihr, *Zādspram*'s own brother. Three letters from Manuščihr upon this subject survive, the *Nāmagihā ī Manuščihr*:⁴ one to the con-

¹ See WEST *GIP* II 103; an edition by WEST of the early chapters, with transcription, was subsequently published as Appendix II to *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of ... P. Sanjana* (Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904). An edition by B. T. ANKLESARIA was largely destroyed by fire at the Fort Printing Press in 1945. It was published in 1964 by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat in Bombay as the *Vichitakiha-i Zadspram*, Part I, text with introduction, which includes 63 pages of a summary of the contents of the work by ANKLESARIA. The text has been set up exactly according to the original edition, but in new type. The following passages have been published, mostly from surviving copies of ANKLESARIA's original edition: Ch. I and XXXIV transcribed and translated by ZAEHNER *BSOS* IX 3 (1938), 573 ff., X 2 (1940) 377 ff. (see also his *Zurvan* 339 ff.); Ch. XXIX-XXX transliterated by BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 209-16. Many shorter passages have been transcribed and translated by various scholars, notably by SCHAEFER in R. REITZENSTEIN and H. H. SCHAEFER *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1926), 213 ff.; by BAILEY *op. cit.* and ZAEHNER *op. cit.* (see index, p. 461); MOLÉ *Culte* ... (see index, 591-92). There is a translation of part of the text among the late M. MOLÉ's papers, the publication of which is expected.

² See BAILEY *op. cit.*, 104 ff. It seems unlikely that, with the church impoverished and on the defensive, *Zādspram* himself should have had either opportunity or desire for direct recourse to translations from the Greek.

³ See *Wizīdagihā* IX 16 (WEST *SBE* V 181).

⁴ See WEST *GIP* II 104; ed. (with English intro.) by DHABHAR *The Epistles of Mānūschīhar* (Bombay, 1912); M. F. KANGA has transcribed and translated Ep. II i in *Deccan Bulletin* XVII (1958), 374-80, and translated Ep. III in *Poure Davoud Mem. Vol. II* (Bombay, 1951), 189-204.

gregation, one to *Zādspram*, and an open one. The last is dated to 881 A. C. These letters are dignified, firm, and strongly traditionalist. Manuščihr seeks support unquestioningly from the church fathers in upholding established practice. He awakens respect by his seriousness and concern for the spiritual welfare of his people, but unfortunately as a stylist leaves much to be desired. His meaning tends to be clouded by an unnecessary profusion of words, and clogged by the weight of elaborate periods and compound terms. This is the more unfortunate as he has left also an important work, the *Dādistan ī dēnīg* "Religious Judgments",¹ consisting of his answers to 92 questions put to him by lay co-religionists, on subjects ranging from doctrinal matters to ethics, cosmology, the rights and duties of the priesthood, and social and legal points (adoption, inheritance, etc.). Some of the practical problems are new, those of a community of waning wealth and power; most can be answered authoritatively from scripture. A large amount of the subject-matter is thus traditional, as is the form (question and answer, a common type of oral composition). Manuščihr's works nevertheless belong much more to the 9th century than do the previous books discussed, which appear in content almost wholly Sasanian.

A 9th-century element is also strong in the *Dēnkard*, "Acts of the Religion",² the most massive of extant Phl. writings. This is an encyclo-

¹ See WEST *GIP* II 102. Part I (Pursišu J. XL), edited by T. D. ANKLESARIA, was published by B. T. ANKLESARIA (Bombay, date ?); Part II (Purs. XLI-XCII), was edited by P. K. ANKLESARIA as a doctoral thesis in London university in 1958. The following passages have been transcribed and translated into English: Purs. LIII, LV-LIX, by DHABHAR, *Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others*, (Bombay, 1932), 182-89; Purs. XC by B. T. ANKLESARIA in *Dinshaw J. Irani Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1943), 232-54; Purs. I by M. F. KANGA in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à G. Morgenstierne* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 98-102; Purs. II also by KANGA in the *Dr. Unvala Mem. Volume* (Bombay, 1964), 127-40. In the same volume P. K. ANKLESARIA published the text, transcription and translation of Purs. XCI. Many short passages from the *Dd.* have been transcribed and translated by European scholars, notably by BAILEY, *op. cit.*, ZAEHNER *op. cit.* (see index, p. 459), and M. MOLÉ, *op. cit.* (see index, p. 593).

² See WEST *GIP* II 91. The edition begun by P. B. SANJANA, in 19 volumes, was finished in 1928. The two-volume edition of D. M. MADAN (with text only) appeared in Bombay in 1911. For details of these editions, and of early independent translations, see J. DE MENASCE *Une Encyclopédie mazdéenne, Le Dēnkard, quatre conférences données à l'Université de Paris sous les auspices de la Fondation Ratanbat Kaltrak* (Paris, 1958), 4 II. I. A facsimile edition of MS. B (in the K. R. Cama Inst.) has since been published by M. J. DRESSEN, *Dēnkard* (Wiesbaden, 1966). Although no satisfactory translation exists of any of the 6 books of the *Dēnkard*, many individual chapters have been transcribed and translated, notably by BAILEY (*op. cit.*), NYBERG (*Texte zum mazd. Kalender*), ZAEHNER (see index, p. 459, of his *Zurvan*), and de MENASCE. In his book (based on lectures delivered in 1946), de MENASCE gave a detailed analysis of the contents of the *Dēnkard*, with transcriptions of individual passages, and a table of contents of Bk. III (Appendix, 82 ff.). He announced an edition and translation of Bk. VII by M. MOLÉ, now to appear posthumously. TAVADIA (*op. cit.* 45-73) also devoted considerable attention to the *Dēnkard*—Bk. VI was transcribed and translated as a thesis in Paris in 1962 by B. FARAVACHI, and independently as a supplement to a London thesis by SH. SHAKED in 1964. In his *Culte, Mythe et Cosmologie* ... M. MOLÉ cited many passages from the *Dēnkard* (see index, pp. 589-91); and a passage from Bk. III (Madan pp. 11.4-12.2) was

paedic work of great length, which survives in mutilated form, comprising 6 books (numbered 3-9; the beginning of the 3rd book is missing). The *Dēnkard*, like the *Bundahišn*, is a compilation, which evidently absorbed older works as it grew,¹ but in its final form it is attributed to two authors. One, Ādurfarnbag ī Farroxxzādān, was high-priest of Pars at the time of Caliph Ma'mūn (813-33 A.C.).² The first part of the *Dēnkard*, made up, it seems, of selections from his writings, suffered damage after his death. It came eventually into the hands of yet another high-priest of Pars, one Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān. His date is uncertain, but it seems likely that he is to be identified with the Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān whose son Isfandiyār (likewise high-priest) died in 936 A.C.³ He himself should accordingly have flourished at about the turn of the century, which makes his work roughly contemporary with the main redaction of the *Bundahišn*. He is therefore presumably to be further identified with the Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān who is mentioned in the *Bundahišn*⁴ as a contemporary of Zādspram's. Ādurbād restored the work of Ādurfarnbag, and added to it the later books.

The *Dēnkard* is a vast treasure-house of Zoroastrian knowledge, wherein materials from many epochs and varied origins are rehandled at a late date by individual authors. What makes it the most formidable of MP. works is the style in which the greater part is written, tortuous, intricate and dry. Since to the inherent difficulties of this style are added those of the script and of a poor MS.-tradition, much remains obscure. The *Dēnkard* is far too long and varied a compilation to be briefly summarised; much of the first part is apologetic, and most of the second devoted to preserving knowledge of the Zoroastrian faith. In both, much material is attributed to the "exposition of the Good Religion" (*nigēz ī wehden*), probably the written Zand reinforced by contemporary oral

transcribed and translated by him in the *Dr. Unvala Memorial Vol.* (Bombay, 1964), 25-29. In the same work, pp. 99-112, H. S. NYBERG treated the opening of Bk. V. In *Indian Linguistics* XXV (1964/5), pp. 3-20, M. F. KANGA gave a transcription and translation of a long passage from Bk. V (Madan pp. 454.21-470).

¹ It is said, e.g., to have included the work of one Ādurbād ī Jāwānān (ŠGV. IV 106).

² There is a small Pahlavi treatise, *Guzastag Abāhīš* [ed. A. BARTHÉLEMY, Paris 1887; H. P. CHACKA, Bombay 1936] relating Ādurfarnbag's dispute, in the presence of Ma'mūn, with an apostate Zoroastrian, Abāhīš. [This name, evidently a corruption of an Arabic: one, is perhaps to be read Abā Lāh, see SCHAEFER *Iranische Beiträge* I (Halle, 1930) 287 n. 2.]

³ See Mas'udi *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ashraf*, transl. B. CARA DE VAUX (Paris, 1897), p. 149 with n. 1. More recently several scholars (J. J. MODI in *Studia Indo-Iranica*, *Ehrensorge f. W. Geiger* (Leipzig, 1931), 274-88; de MENASCE op. cit. 10-11; and TAVADIA op. cit. 50) have agreed in identifying Ādurbād rather with the son of Ēmēd ī Ašawahīstān, high-priest in 955 A.C. This would put his redaction of the *Dēnkard* in the second part of the 10th century, which seems too late a date for such a massive Middle Persian compilation; but see further de MENASCE *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses* (Paris), 1956-7, pp. 9-11.

⁴ See GBd. 238.3.

tradition.⁵ In the early books are to be found answers to questions by heretics, and by a disciple; collections of precepts (*andarz*) used apologetically (heretical utterances and their orthodox parallels); an abridgement of the answers given by Ādurfarnbag to a certain Ya'qūb, and to a Christian, Bōxt-Mārē. To Ya'qūb Ādurfarnbag uses appeals to national pride rather than theological arguments, linking the glorious history of Iran with that of the Zoroastrian faith.⁶ These early books also contain such well-known passages as a long chapter on medicine,⁷ and the accounts already cited of the transmission of the Avesta. There is a mass of other material also, much of it summarised, and therefore lacking apparent order or logical continuity.

The VIth book stands apart, being an anthology of wise sayings, attributed to the Ancients and to various named Sasanian sages. Thanks to the clear *andarz* style, it makes the easiest reading of any (see further below, p. 51f.). The VIIth book, which embodies many Avestan allusions, contains a sort of universal history, from the First Man to Judgment Day, with Zoroaster as its central point.⁸ The VIIIth gives the famous summary of 19 *nasks* of the Avesta "for the knowledge of the many" (*ō āgāhīh ī wasān*)⁹ (one of the *nasks* was then already lost, and of another only the Avestan text remained). In the IXth book three of the religious (*gāhānīg*) *nasks* are dealt with in greater detail.

It is a striking fact that, except for *Šāyist nē-šāyist*, all the books so far considered are known, in their 9th-century form, to be the work of priests and high-priests of Pars. Together they constitute an important part of the surviving Phl. literature; and their attribution to one province indicates impressively the amount of such writings which must have disappeared; for, although Pars appears to have been the Zoroastrian stronghold of the 9th century, it is hardly to be thought that there was not literary activity also in other provinces, whose products must later have been lost, through poverty and persecution.

There is an anonymous work, probably belonging to the early decades of the 10th century, which is generally transmitted with the *Dādistān ī*

⁵ In DkM. 460.1 ff. it is said of the Zand: "how too for the most part it is preserved also in books" (*nun-iz frāyist pad-iz nibāgihā pad-izlād*) [see BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 163]. The implication is clear that part remained unwritten, *dēn nigēstan* = "to expound the religion" (BAILEY *ibid.* 99 n. 1). On the *nigēz* (rather differently) see de MENASCE *Une Encyclopédie mazdeenne*, 17.

⁶ See de MENASCE op. cit. 29-31.

⁷ Translated by L. C. CASARTELLI *Le Muséon* V (1886); transcribed by BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 196 ff.

⁸ On this history of Zoroaster see BARR *Festschrift til L. L. Hammerich*, G. E. C. Gads Forlag, (Copenhagen 1952), 26-35; NYBERG *Religion och Bibel XIV* (1955), 3-19.

⁹ DkM. 677.4. Ādurbād was consciously playing his part in a long line of transmission; see Dk. III 420 (MADAN 405-6), transcribed by BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 217-18.

dēnīg, and is for this reason known as the *Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistan ī dēnīg*.¹ This is a text written in simple, generally correct Middle Persian, but later than the works already considered (its unknown author cites, among other works, *Sāyist nē-sāyist*, *Dādistan ī dēnīg*, *Bundahišn* and *Dēnkard*). It is an anthology of the Zoroastrian religion, treating predominantly of ceremonial, but also of ethics, customs, eschatology, and cosmology, and including fragments of epic, folklore and wisdom-literature. The sources used appear to be old and good. The emphasis on ritual probably marks the need to stress such matters under the pressure of Islam.² About three-fourths of the text were later incorporated in the Persian *Rivāyat* of Kama Āša of Cambay.³

A short Pahlavi *Rivāyat* survives, which embodies the answers to questions put to Ēmēd ī Ašawahistān, high-priest in 955 A.C., and probably a descendant in the third generation of the redactor of the *Dēnkard*.⁴ The questions are in the main practical, concerning legal problems about property, inheritance and marriage, or religious points of ritual and purification. The text has interesting features of vocabulary, with old words and idioms intermingled with others more familiar from the later Persian *Rivāyats* than from the Pahlavi books. Style and syntax are degenerate, as is to be expected at this late date.

A 9th-century work which stands apart from those hitherto considered is the *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār*, the "Doubt-destroying Exposition",⁵ composed by one Mardānfarrox ī Ōhrmazdādān, who, since he speaks of

¹ Ed. DHABHAR *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistan ī Dēnīg* (Bombay, 1913), with English intro. (and list of chapter-headings), q.v. for earlier work on the text. Ch. I-LXII in DHABHAR's edition form the *Rivāyat preceding Dd.*, Ch. LXIII-LXV the *Rivāyat following Dd.*—Since 1913 the following chapters have been transcribed and translated: I by NYBERG *Texte zum mazd. Kalender*, 44-47; XVIII by NYBERG in *Oriental Studies in honour of ... S. C. E. Pavry* (Oxford, 1934), 339-52; XLII by TAVADIA in *Modi Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1930), 479-87; XLVI (except for 16-21) by ZAEHNER *Zurvan*, 360-67; XLVIII §§90-96, *ibid.*, 154-5; LXIV by de MENASCE *Anthropos* (1942-1945), 180-85. Almost the whole of the *Riv. preceding Dd.* was transcribed and translated, with notes, by H. K. MIRZA as a thesis in London university in 1942.

² See DHABHAR, intro., 2.

³ See DHABHAR, intro., 2-3, and the introduction to his *Saddar Nāst and Saddar Bundehesh* (Bombay, 1909), xix. In later centuries a number of Persian *Rivāyats* were composed, also based on traditional material, and from these the Pahlavi "*Rivāyats*" have been named. [Most of the Persian *Rivāyats* have been ed. by M. R. UNVALA, in 2 vols., under the title *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat* (Bombay, 1922), and translated by DHABHAR (Bombay, 1932).]

⁴ See WEST *GIP* ii 105-06; DHABHAR *Cat. of the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library*, p. 15. The text was edited in 1928 by B. T. ANKLESARIA, and in 1962 Vol. I of his work (text and transcription) was published in Bombay, as the *Rivāyat ī Hēmit ī Ašawahistān*. Vol. II (transl. and notes) is promised shortly.

Another work with the character of a *Rivāyat*, but written in poor Middle Persian, is the *Wizārīd ī dēnīg* ("Religious Explanations"), which contains a number of Avestan quotations; see WEST *GIP* ii 89-90, TAVADIA *op. cit.* 114-15.

⁵ Ed. by de MENASCE *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār* (Fribourg en Suisse, 1945), q.v., p. 14, for earlier publications.

his debt to the *Dēnkard* of Ādurfarnbag, probably lived in the 2nd half of the century. In his introduction Mardānfarrox states that he had travelled far and wide to study different religions, and had come to hold as true the faith in which he was born. His book, designed to dispel doubt in others, falls into two parts: an exposition of Zoroastrian beliefs, and a criticism of other religions (Islam, Judaism, Christianity and Manichaeism). What distinguishes it from the works already considered is that the argument is pursued on an abstract, intellectual level, and most of the mythical and traditional elements which had attached themselves to Zoroastrianism are ignored. The style is elevated, but clear and balanced, the controversial parts judicious, and temperate by the standards of theological debate. The work nevertheless presents difficulties, largely because of its transmission; for it survives only in a mediaeval Sanskrit version, and in Pazand i.e. Middle Persian transcribed in mediaeval times out of Pahlavi into Avestan script.¹ The corruptions during this process are sometimes considerable.

There is a short work which also survives in Pazand, namely the *Čim ī Kustīg* "Reasons for the Sacred Girdle",² which has some similarities with the *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār* in both style and content. Here too the treatment is largely abstract and philosophical; but the framework is traditional, in that a sage is represented as expounding the symbolism of the *kustī* to a disciple, through question and answer.

A few short texts directly concerned with religious life (such as praises, blessings, prayers and confessional texts) survive in Middle Persian;³ but most such works have been transcribed,⁴ or have been rendered into Persian or Gujarati, in which form they belong to the later history of Zoroastrian literature.⁵

Many of the texts still to be considered are also religious ones; but the foregoing books form a group in that they belong to the period after the Arab conquest, either as derivations from the Zand or as original writings; and in that their authors share the common aims of expounding, conserving or defending their ancient faith.⁶

¹ All surviving MSS. descend from a single (partly extant) Indian MS. containing the Pazand text and its Sanskrit translation by Nēryōsang. For the Sanskrit translations of Pahlavi texts see S. D. BHARUCHA *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis I-VI*, 1906-1933.

² Ed. by T. D. ANKLESARIA in his *Dānāk u Mainyān ī Khord* (Bombay, 1913); and by H. JUNKER as *Der weissbegierige Sohn* (Leipzig, 1939), with a commentary by J. C. TAVADIA, and a German translation.

³ See WEST *GIP* ii 109-10, 114-16; TAVADIA *op. cit.* 127-8; H. JUNKER *Ein Bruchstück der Afrinagān ī Gāhānbār* (Leipzig, 1932).

⁴ For the Pazand versions see E. K. ANJIA *Pāzand Texts* (Bombay, 1909).

⁵ For the New-Persian Zoroastrian literature see WEST *GIP* ii 122-29.

⁶ A Pazand work which defies classification is the *Aognadagā*, which consists of citations from the

4. VISIONARY AND APOCALYPTIC TEXTS

Manticism plays a considerable part in the learning and literature of many ancient peoples, and the Middle Persian texts show this to have been true for the Iranians, as it was for their neighbours, the Indians and Greeks. One well-established type of mantic composition, "visions of the home of the dead,"¹ is represented by the *Arday Wirāz Nāmag* ("Book of the righteous Wirāz").² This has proved the most popular of all Zoroastrian works, with verse and prose translations into Persian, Sanskrit and Gujarati, and from them free renderings into European languages.³ Its subject is the visions of heaven and hell seen by the priest Wirāz, after he has drugged himself in order to release his spirit and discover for his community the fate of the dead. He travels the path of the departed, crosses the dread Činwat bridge, and is shown the joys of Paradise and the tortures of Hell. The latter are the more varied, and form a grim and revolting array. Unswerving justice reigns in the hereafter, and every act is strictly recompensed. Having beheld these things, the spirit of Wirāz returns after seven days, and he relates his vision to those who have watched beside his body.

The *Arday Wirāz Nāmag* has probably a very old kernel (the name of the just Wirāza occurs in the Avesta);⁴ but when it was first set down is unknown. In its surviving form it is a prose work, written in simple, direct style; and an introductory chapter indicates a date after the Arab conquest.⁵ This late redaction was evidently made in Pars,⁶ and is probably one of the 9th/10th-century literary products of that province.

Another branch of mantic literature concerns prophecy, "which may

Avesta (possibly largely from the *Hādōst Nask*) on the theme of death, with MP. paraphrases and developments. See WEST GIP II 89, DARMESTETER *Ét. ir.* II 75-6. The Avestan citations have been further studied by DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *JA* 1936, avril-juin, 241-55. The text of the late Phl. version was published by DHABHAR *Essays on Iranian Subjects* (Bombay, 1955) 42-62. The complete text was edited, with transl. and notes, by K.M. JAMASP-ASA for a doctoral thesis in Bombay in 1966.

¹ See H. M. and N. K. CHADWICK *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932-1940) III 848 ff.

² See WEST GIP II 108; the edition has since appeared of J. JAMASP-ASA *Arday Wirāz Nāmag* (Bombay, 1902). I 1-17 is transcribed and translated by BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 151-53.

³ It has been maintained that the A.W.N. influenced the Islamic tradition of the *mi'raj*. It has also been endlessly compared with the *Divine Comedy*. The discovery of an Islamic source for Dante's inspiration (see G. LEVI DELLA VIDA *al-Andalus* XIV 2 (1949), 377-407) increases the possibility of a link between the two.

⁴ See C. BARTHOLOMAE *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1454; the traditional reading of the name is *Wirāz*, but against MENASCÉ's argument in support of this (*JA* 1919, 3-7) see HENNING ZOROASTER (Oxford, 1951), 51 n. 3.

⁵ According to this, Wirāz is persuaded to enter his trance in order to establish the efficacy of various ceremonies (*yazistān*, *drōn*, *āfrinagān* etc.). This suggests a date when Zoroastrianism was under attack in such respects. A late date is confirmed by a suggestion of confusion between Wirāz and Wehšābuhr, high priest of Xosrau I.—On what seems to be a citation in the text from *Aog. 80* see DARMESTETER *Ét. iran.* II 75 f.

⁶ Wirāz enters his trance at the Farnbag fire.

relate to the present or past, as well as to the future".¹ There are a number of Middle Persian texts which embody an ancient prophecy concerning the Four Ages of the World, culminating in an Iron Age of misery and depravity before the coming of a Saviour and the restoration of the good.² In the Zoroastrian tradition this prophecy came to be connected with the divinity Wahman, whose link with wisdom and inspiration is emphasized in the Middle Persian texts.³ In the mantic literature, Zoroaster himself is represented as a priest-seer, who received from Ohrmazd revealed wisdom, through a draught of the water of all-knowledge.⁴ The other seer of the religious tradition is Jāmāsp, Zoroaster's first convert, to whom he was said to have imparted the gift of divination.⁵

This Avestan prophetic tradition, which found embodiment evidently in the lost *Wahman Yašt*, and in part of the *Sūdgar Nask*,⁶ exerted a strong influence on Greek and Graeco-Egyptian apocalyptic writings from at least the 2nd century B.C.⁷ In Iran itself the tradition clearly remained a living one, and as the generations passed the prophecies were developed and adapted, so that by the post-Sasanian period the Iron Age was identified with the harsh era of Arab domination.

One of the surviving Middle Persian versions of the prophecy is found in the *Zand ī Wahman Yašt*.⁸ This work appears to be a selection from the Zand of this lost Yašt, part translation, part commentary, giving a fairly continuous text. It opens with a summary of the prophecy as recorded in the *Sūdgar Nask*, with the Four Ages of the World; and continues with an extended version with Seven Ages. It is possible that the latter was evolved under Babylonian influences, and that the *Sūdgar* version is the more purely Iranian.⁹ In both the prophecy is the inter-

¹ CHADWICK op. cit. I 473; see also *ibid.* III 844.

² Similar prophecies are to be found in other oral literatures, notably in Indian, Irish and Norse; see CHADWICK op. cit. II 590-1; REITZENSTEIN in *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* 52 ff.

³ For Pahlavi passages see G. WIDENGREN *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God* (Uppsala, 1945) 46-47, 49, 69.

⁴ *Zand ī Wahman Yašt* III 6-7; on this passage see REITZENSTEIN op. cit. 45. In a number of mantic traditions, scattered over the world, wisdom is attained by drinking water from a holy source (see CHADWICK op. cit. I 649-50). On water as the "womb of Truth" in Indo-Iranian mythology see H. LUDERS *Varuna I* (Göttingen, 1951) 25 ff., I. GERSHEVITCH *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), 7.—On Zoroaster as "vaticinans puer" see BENVENISTE *RHR* 1932, 378.

⁵ On Jāmāsp as seer see BENVENISTE op. cit. 379-80.

⁶ Dk. IX 8 (WEST *SBE* XXXVII, 181).

⁷ See REITZENSTEIN op. cit. 38 ff.; H. WINDISCH *Verhandel d. Koninkl. Ak. te Amsterdam* XXVIII 3 (1929); F. CUMONT *RHR* 1931, 29 ff.; BENVENISTE *RHR* 1932, 337 ff.

⁸ Ed. by K. A. NOSHERWAN *The Text of the Pahlavi Zand-ī Vohūman Yašt* (with Gujarati transl.) (Bombay, 1903); and by B. T. ANKLESARIA *Zand-ī Vohūman Yasn and Two Pahlavi Fragments* (with English transl.). The printed copies of the latter edition, ready in 1919, were mostly destroyed by fire in 1945, but the edition was published in 1957 by Mrs B. T. ANKLESARIA, with a foreword by J. M. UNVALA. SADEQ HEDAYAT, who studied in 1957 by Mrs B. T. ANKLESARIA, published a Persian transl. with notes in Tehran in 1944.

⁹ See CUMONT *RHR* 1931, pp. 57, 93.

Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. I, Bd. IV, Abschn. 2, Lfg. 1

pretation, given by Ōhrmazd himself, of a dream dreamt by Zoroaster while he possessed the wisdom of all-knowledge. The longest section of the *Zand ī Wahman Yašt* is devoted to the Age of Iron, told with bitter feeling; this account is evidently partly traditional, and partly a lament for contemporary wrongs.¹ The text ends with a prophecy of the coming of Wahrām ī Warčāwand, God of Victory, to restore Iran and the Good Religion, and to usher in the last millenium.

The prophecy of an age of misery and wickedness, to be followed by the apocalypse, is found also in the *Jāmāsp Nāmag*,² where it is foretold to King Wištāsp by Jāmāsp the seer.³ This text, fragmentary and badly-preserved, is in verse,⁴ and thus in form belongs to an older tradition than the prose exegesis of the *Zand ī Wahman Yašt*. In content also it differs in details from this work.⁵ There is no reason to doubt that the Iranian prophetic tradition was embodied, with minor variations, in a number of works, of which these two chance to survive. Its imprint is to be found also in the religious compilations.⁶

The *Jāmāsp Nāmag* came to be incorporated in a longer prose work, the *Ayādgar ī Jāmāspīg*,⁷ of which it forms the 16th chapter. Apart from the verse *Jāmāsp Nāmag*, and one other Pahlavi fragment, the *Ayādgar* survives only in Pazand and Persian.

The coming of Wahrām ī Warčāwand is celebrated separately in a short poem, evidently of post-Sasanian date.⁸ It has been suggested that prophecies concerning the God of Victory became blended in the late Sasanian period with tales of the heroic Wahrām Čōbin, to the embellishment of the legend of the god.⁹

¹ On the names of peoples in IV 58, VI 3,6 (A.'s edition) see BAILEY *BSOS* VI 4 (1932), 945 ff., XI 1 (1943), 1-2; *Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller* (Leipzig, 1954), 13-14.

² Ed. by MODI in *Jāmāspī, Pahlavi, Pazand and Persian Texts* (Bombay, 1903) and in part by WEST in *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour . . . of P. B. Sanjana* (Leipzig, 1904), 97-116; transcribed and translated by BAILEY *BSOS* VI (1930-31), 55-85 and 581-600, and by BENVENISTE *RHR* (1932), 337-80.

³ On the part played by Wištāsp in the Graeco-Iranian apocalyptic tradition see BENVENISTE *op. cit.* 377-78.

⁴ This important fact, obscured by the Pahlavi script, and by the ancient conventions of Middle Persian verse, was discovered by BENVENISTE.

⁵ See BENVENISTE *op. cit.* 368 ff.

⁶ Notably GbD. XXXIII-IV, ed. MESSINA (see above).

⁷ Ed. MODI *op. cit.*; MESSINA *Libro apocalittico persiano, Ayāthār ī Zāmāspīk* (Rome, 1939).

⁸ This text is preserved in a famous codex, MK, which contains a number of miscellaneous works, some with only a slender connection, or none at all, with religion. The larger part of the codex is ed. by JAMASP-ASANA *The Pahlavi Texts contained in the codex MK, II* (Bombay, 1913), in whose edition the poem occupies pp. 160-1. It has been transcribed and translated by BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 195-6, and TAVADIA *JRAS* 1955, 29-36. TAVADIA noticed that the text was a rhyming poem. A rendering of the text into Persian verse had earlier been made by M. BAHAR, see his *Divān* I (Tehran, A. H. 1335), p. 548.

⁹ See K. CZERLÉDY *Acta Orientalia Ac. Scient. Hungaricae* VIII 1 (1938), 20 ff.

Spells, which play a large part in the mantic literature of some peoples, appear only incidentally in the Pahlavi texts, and then in garbled form;¹ but spells, divination, and the interpreting of dreams are prominent in the literature deriving from Middle Persian works.²

5. WISDOM-LITERATURE

Middle Persian is rich in a wisdom-literature based on collections of gnomes (brief, apothegmatic utterances relating to universals). This again is a widespread category of oral literature; and the three classes of gnomes which have been recognized³ are all represented in the Pahlavi texts. These are 1) the gnome of observation ("there is no cure for age");⁴ 2) the gnome of prudence or advisability ("make a friend of that man who will be most useful to you");⁵ and 3) the moral gnome ("the best protector is one's duty").⁶ The last two types merge readily into precept, as one of these examples shows, and the Middle Persian name for this class of composition is in fact "precept" (*andarz*). Naturally the Zoroastrian wisdom-literature, transmitted by priests, contains a high proportion of moral gnomes; it also embodies a considerable amount of doctrine, conveyed through statement or exhortation. Several of the *andarz*-texts have a preamble in fairly elaborate style; but the *andarz* themselves are characterised by brevity and lucidity. The unit is the sentence, and there is usually no attempt at continuity, although separate *andarz* are sometimes grouped by content. Some have a poetic quality, and it may be that the older Iranian gnomic literature (as embodied, for example, in the *Bariš Nask*) was in verse. So far, however, only one verse-text has been discovered in the Pahlavi *andarz*, and this bears signs of being a post-Sasanian work.⁷

Wisdom (*xrad*) is constantly praised in the *andarz* texts; but this is not the mantic wisdom of prophecy and divination, but that of observation and reflection. Gnoms are characteristically old men's utterances, realistic, prudent, ripe with experience. Those which are not anonymous are therefore commonly attributed to sages, or to men of authority, such as kings and counsellors; and are often cast in the form of answers to questions put by some seeker after knowledge, a disciple or son. One

¹ E.g. AZ. 41, 74.

² Notably in the *Šāh-nāme* and *Vīs u Rāmīn*.

³ See CHADWICK *Growth of Literature* I 375.

⁴ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 40. 15-16.

⁵ *Ibid.* 59. 4-5.

⁶ *Ibid.* 39. 2-3.

⁷ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts*, 54; see HENNING *BSOAS* XIII 3 (1950), 641 ff.

of the Middle Persian collections is attributed to Jam (Yima),¹ another to Ōšnar the Wise, a Kayanian sage.² Most are assigned, however, to the Sasanian period. One collection is attributed to Xosrau I,³ the others to priests or ministers. Prominent among these are Ādurbād ī Mahrspandān, high-priest of Šābuhr II;⁴ his son Zardušt;⁵ and Wuzurgmihr ī Bōxtagān, minister of Xosrau I.⁶ The *andarz* attributed to the last-named have a preamble in unusually elaborate style, which may be of his own composing.⁷ (There is no reason to suppose that by the 6th century Middle Persian was not capable of complex rhythms in the hands of a sophisticated writer.) At least one Pahlavi collection of *andarz*, attributed to Ādurfarnbag ī Farrozzādān,⁸ must be post-Sasanian.

The gnomic style creates a uniformity, and it is hardly surprising that "wandering" *andarz* appear in more than one collection. The various collections differ, however, in the proportion of their components. Some are startlingly full of gnomes of advisability, others are almost wholly religious and ethical. Among the latter is the great series of *andarz* which constitutes Book VI of the *Dēnkard*. The first and longest set of these probably derives from the MP. translation of the *Bariš Nask*; other sets are attributed to named Sasanian sages (among them Ādurbād ī Mahrspandān). There are 5 main groups, arranged according to the opening phrase of the *andarz*; and within each group there is an attempt at arrangement by subject-matter. The orderliness of this collection is unusual, and may owe something to the compilers of the original Avestan text. Many of the *andarz*, here and in general, are trite and dull; but there are sporadic touches of imagination, and moral utterances of high order. For example, the Zoroastrian emphasis on

¹ In Dk. III.—The relative clarity of the *andarz* texts has led to their being much translated, and it is only possible to give a selection of references here.

² Ed. DHABHAR *Andarz-i Aoshmar-i Dēnāh* (Bombay, 1913); on Ōšnar and the "Hōsang" book of Islamic tradition see HENNING *ZDMG* 1956, 75-6.

³ This, like many *andarz*-texts, is in the codex MK; ed. JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 55 ff.; transl. (with 4 others) by J. C. TARAPORE *Pahlavi Andarz Nama* (Bombay, 1933).

⁴ More *andarz* collections are attributed to Ādurbād than to anyone else. There is one in Dk. III and others in Dk. VI (see ZAEHNER *JRAS* 1940, 36 ff., *Zurvan* 407-8); one in the *Pahl. Riv. Dd.* LXII (DHABHAR, p. 193); and two in codex MK (JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 58-71, 144-53). The first of these two is transl., with notes, by FR. MÜLLER *Sb. KAW. Wiss. CXXXVI* (1897), 1-25, the second by S. K. MEHERJI RANA (Bombay, 1930). Both are transl. by ZAEHNER *The Teachings of the Magi* (London, 1956), 101-16.

⁵ To him is ascribed the *Pandnūmag ī Zardušt*, also called *Čīdag andarz ī pōryōthiśān*, ed. JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 41-50; A. FREIMAN *WZKM* XX (1906), 149-60, 237-80; NYBERG *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, 17-30; and M. F. KANGA, with transl. and notes (Bombay, 1960); transl. ZAEHNER op. cit. 20-28, and H. CORBIN *Pouze Davoud Mem.* Vol. II 129-60 (q.v. for further references).

⁶ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 85-101; see CHRISTENSEN *Acta Orientalia* VIII (1930), 81-128 (with references also to Islamic renderings of the *andarz* of Wuzurgmihr).

⁷ See HENNING *ZDMG* (1956), 77.

⁸ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 79-80.

ritual purity (with avoidance of dead matter) has often been stressed as a barren element in this great religion; but the following *andarz* sets in perspective these merely physical demands: "Keep further from doing injury and harm to any than you would from the corpses of men; for the pollution and filth which comes to the body can more easily be washed away and cleansed than that which comes to the soul" (*az āzār ud bēš ī pad kasān dūrlar pahrēz ku az nasāy ī mardōhmān; ē ālūdagih ud rīmanih ī ō tan rasēd sustan ud pāk kardan xwāriar šayēd ku ān ī ō ruwān rasēd* DkM. 581³⁻⁵). Not even in the *Dk.* collection are all the *andarz* concerned with religion, however; and it is evident that a number of them are simply the surviving representatives of a popular type of oral composition, which have become associated with religious works, and have thus chanced to survive. In course of time the less religious *andarz*, with all Zoroastrian elements excised, were incorporated in the Islamic *adab* literature, and lived on in a new sophistication and elegance.¹

Two general points have been made with regard to the *andarz*. One is that the fatalism characteristic of many stamps them as a product of the Zurvanite branch of the Zoroastrian church.² Fatalism is, however, typical of the *genre*. The sage, surveying realistically the human lot, sees small chance for man to be master of his own destiny. A fatalistic element is probably, therefore, part of the non-religious character of many of the *andarz*. The other point is that the constant counselling of prudence, the mean of action, marks a debt to Greece, and to Aristotelian philosophy.³ Again, however, prudence is in general recommended in hortatory gnomes, not only in Persia. Man's best course in a precarious existence, so the sages say, is to steer carefully, avoiding those extremes likely to hasten disaster. The philosophic content of such gnomes is moreover slight. Except in specifically religious utterances, it is the results of action rather than its causes which interest the Iranian sage. It is, however, conceivable that in selecting gnomes for written record the Zoroastrian priests were influenced by knowledge of the philosophy of the mean, whose practical applications to conduct were thus illustrated in simple fashion.

With religious gnomes, exhortation readily blends with exposition of

¹ See M. INOSTRANZEV, transl. by G. K. NARIMAN, *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature* (Bombay, 1918); ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 408; HENNING *ZDMG* (1956), 73 ff.; MINOVI *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Univ. de Téhéran* IV 2 (1957), 58 ff.; a doctoral thesis on the *andarz* literature, with special reference to this aspect, was presented in London by S. SHAKED in 1964.

² The nature and influence of Zurvanism has been much discussed in recent years; but this problem belongs to the theological rather than to the literary field.

³ See de MENASCE *Une Encyclopédie mazdénne* 38 ff.

doctrine, and the apothegmatic style then necessarily yields to a simple narrative one. It is thus possible to regard the *Didistān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad*, "Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom,"¹ as an extension of the religious *andarz*, with the embodiment also of a certain amount of antiquarian learning. In some respects this is a classic example of *andarz* literature. There is a preamble; the body of the work is in the form of question and answer; and many of the answers are expressed as gnomes. On the other hand, the questioner seeks (according to the preamble) to establish the truth of Zoroastrianism; he receives instruction from the Spirit of Wisdom itself; and the text is unusually long, with a large doctrinal element. The work is, accordingly, far from typical in its general character. There are several small indications of its Sasanian date, among them a reference to the Zoroastrian inquisition,² which accords closely with a passage in the *Letter of Tansar*, which belongs partly to the 6th century.³ The preamble too fits well with the age of Burzōi. No doubt these, and other, indications would suit some earlier Sasanian reigns as well; but on the assumption that the use of writing extended slowly, in the wake of the written Avesta, the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* may be assigned with some confidence to the reign of Xosrau I.⁴ It is perhaps an ecclesiastical counterpart to the political treatises of this period, which also appear to owe something to the *andarz* tradition.⁵

Another branch of wisdom-literature, general through the world, is the riddle. Middle Persian has a literary example in the *Mādiyān ī Jōišṭ ī Fryān*,⁶ in which is related the contest between Axt, a sorcerer, and the Zoroastrian Jōišṭ, who must answer the riddles propounded by Axt or lose his life. He resolves them all; and Axt, failing to answer his counter-riddles, dies instead. There is no internal evidence of date; but both Jōišṭ and Axt are mentioned in the Avesta, so that whatever the period

¹ See WEST *GIP* ii 107; to the works there mentioned may be added the edition of the Pahlavi text by P. SANJANA *The Dīnū ī Mainū ī Khrat* (Bombay, 1895); and of the Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit texts by T. D. ANKLESARIA *Dānū-ū Mainyō-ī Khrat* (Bombay, 1913). The Pazand version is given by ANVIA *Pāzand Texts* 273-334. On the title see BAILEY *Zor. Problems* 2 n. 3. A number of individual passages have been edited separately, notably by NYBERG *JA* 1929 i, 198 ff. and in *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*; and by ZAEHNER *Zurvan* (see index, p. 461).—The *Mēnōg ī Xrad* was apparently preserved in India, whence a copy seems to have been brought to Persia, perhaps in the 11th century. In India itself its Pazand and Sanskrit versions only have survived, together with later retranslations into Pahlavi of the Pazand text.

² MX. XV 22-25.

³ Ed. M. MINOVI (Tehran, 1936) p. 17.1 ff.; see DARMESTETER *ZA* I 226 n. 2, and see further below.

⁴ This was WEST's tentative opinion (see his edition, x-xi), based on such passages as MX. I 18 (a reference to Mazdak?) and the whole of XV (on kingly power).

⁵ See below, p. pp. 60-61.

⁶ See WEST *GIP* ii 108.

of the written Middle Persian redaction, the kernel of the work is likely to be old.

Riddle-texts have the element of contest. Another "contest" work (also belonging to a well-known oral category) is the *Draxt ī asūrig* ("The Babylonian Tree").¹ This text is a Middle Persian redaction of a Parthian original,² and is in verse.³ It concerns a contest over precedence between a date-palm and a goat; and is full of difficulties, due to the dialect-mixture, verse-form, unusual vocabulary and a riddling element. As well as being a contest-work, this is also incidentally a catalogue-poem, listing the qualities of tree and animal. It belongs, therefore, to wisdom-literature, being intended both to sharpen the wits and to give instruction.

6. NON-DIDACTIC POETRY

The works so far considered were evidently transmitted by priests, the scholars and teachers of their age. Non-didactic poetry was created by the minstrel, who played an important part in Sasanian society: "entertainer of king and commoner . . . present at the graveside and at the feast; eulogist, satirist, story-teller, musician; recorder of past achievements and commentator of his own times."⁴ The minstrel-poetry was sung, usually (if not invariably) to an instrument; and minstrels of the first rank, such as the great Bārbad (court-minstrel of Xosrau II) were composers of both words and music, and by the beauty of their minstrelsy exerted great influence. In late Sasanian times the king's minstrel was numbered among the four chief men surrounding the throne. Poetry for entertainment was also cultivated by women and boys of rank, and poetry was used spontaneously and generally to express emotion.

It was possibly in part its close association with music which kept poetry unwritten until well after the Sasanian period; and, the music lost, it may never be possible wholly to appreciate Middle Persian versification. A key to its principles, however, has been provided in this century by the Manichean hymns.⁵ In these the verse is governed by

¹ Ed. JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 109-14 and UNVALA *BSOS* II iv (1923) 637-78 (q.v., p. 638, for references on "Rangstreit"-literature).

² See BARTHOLOMAE *Zur Kenntnis d. mittelpersischen Mundarten* IV (1922) 23 f. The Parthian original must have been unwritten, and the Middle Persian rendering probably also remained in oral transmission until after the Arab conquest. Mixtures of dialect-forms such as the text shows can be paralleled in the borrowings of texts between related languages in known oral literatures.

³ This was discovered by BENVENISTE, see *JA* 1930 ii 193 ff.; the text was the first poem to be recognized in the Pahlavi MSS. On the versification see further HENNING *BSOAS* XLIII 3 (1950), 641 ff. For some additional notes on the text see G. BOLOGNESI *RSO* XXVIII (1953), 174 ff.

⁴ *JRAS* 1957, 18 (q.v., pp. 10-45, for a detailed study of Iranian minstrelsy).

⁵ See HENNING *Trans. Phil. Soc., London* (1942), 51-56; BOYCE *The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* (Oxford, 1954), 45-59.

stress, not quantity; and in each hymn the number of unstressed syllables varies, within limits, from line to line. There is a variety of metres (whose rules are not yet fully understood); but rhyme is lacking. The metrical principles deduced from these hymns apply also to the poems in the Pahlavi books,¹ from which it appears that Sasanian poetry in general was composed in this convention, which is one of high antiquity. After the Arab conquest this versification gradually yielded to a new one, based on Arabic models—rhymed and quantitative, and written down by the composer. As this slowly gained ground, the minstrel-poems, still largely unrecorded, were either refashioned, or fell into neglect. Only a few short pieces survive in the oldest Persian books,² and even these are influenced by the new convention of rhyme. The process was very slow, however, and minstrel-poems were still sung in the 11th century.

Only one category of Sasanian poetry, the narrative poem, survives both in its own right and as an element to be traced in the later literature. This is largely because one epic cycle, celebrating the Kayanians, was linked with religious history. Its stories appear to have been little known in Pars at the beginning of the Sasanian era, and the Persian minstrels evidently acquired them from Parthian singers, in the north-east. There they had become interwoven with tales of Parthian warriors and Saka heroes,³ a process which probably took place unconsciously towards the end of a long period of oral transmission.⁴ Of this cycle only one fragment survives in its original verse-form, namely the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* ("Memorial of Zarēr").⁵ This tells of the battle for the faith between Wištāsp and the pagan Xyōns, in which his brother Zarēr perished. The fragment was evidently written down (presumably after the Arab conquest)⁶ because of its religious interest; but apart from stereotyped allusions to the Mazdayasnian faith, it is entirely secular in spirit, and in style is characterised by the fixed epithets, hyperboles and repetitions of oral epic. It has clearly lost in being written down, and has suffered

¹ See HENNING *BSOAS* XIII 1 (1950), 641-8.

² See U. M. DAUDPOTA in *J. J. Modi Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1930), 341-51; HENNING in *Handbuch* I, IV 187 n. 1.

³ See NÖLDEKE *Das iranische Nationalepos*, IIte Auflage (Leipzig, 1920), 7-9; J. MARKWART *Caucasica* VIII (1931), 78-113.

⁴ See *Serta Cantabrigiensia*, F. Steiner Verlag (Mainz, 1954), 49-51; *BSOAS* XVII 3 (1955), 473-4.

⁵ Ed. JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts*, 1-16; transcribed and translated by A. PAGLIARO *Il testo pahlavico Ayādgār ī Zarērān* (Rome, 1925).

⁶ As NÖLDEKE has pointed out (op. cit., 6) the war against the Xyōns, which in Tabari and the *Sāhnāme* is long-drawn-out, is foreshortened in the *Ayādgār* to a single episode. This abbreviation probably took place in oral transmission, continued for centuries after the compilation of the *Book of Kings*.

corruptions through careless copying; but in it can be heard the authentic ring of the old poetry. Similarities in style show how much Firdausi owed to the old epic tradition, still living, without doubt, in his day.

Another narrative poem, *Wis u Rāmin*, is also recast, as it happens, from a Parthian original.¹ This recounts, at length and with a wealth of warlike and romantic detail, the love of the two persons from whom it is named. The minstrel-poem was written down in Pahlavi script some time after the Arab conquest, in a version compiled by "6 wise men". The poem evidently continued in oral currency for generations afterwards; and the written version was still used for the study of Pahlavi in the 11th century. It then attracted the attention of Gurgani, who made of it a new poem.² A Georgian version also exists. Stylistically the minstrel-poem appears to have had much in common with the epic; but the material belongs to a later age, probably the first century of the Christian era.

7. HISTORICAL WRITING

Middle Persian works are necessarily largely traditional. An oral literature is static compared with a written one, the scope for innovation being small when each generation has to memorise as well as to create. As the use of writing spread, however, the Sasanians embarked on new ventures, notably in the field of history. Traditional learning furnished many materials for writing history. There existed evidently genealogies, brief chronicles, legends about the origin of different Iranian peoples, catalogues of battles and great disasters, lists of place-names and river-names (with speculation about their origin and local events attaching to them), traditions concerning festivals and customs—in short, a great mass of antiquarian learning, some of which is preserved in the surviving Zoroastrian books. In the prophetic works, moreover, was embodied already a stylised history of the world. For generations, evidently, the Iranians had sought to impose patterns upon the confusion of events and the multiplicity of world-phenomena. With the development of writing they obtained the tool necessary for a more elaborate synthesis. The result was the composition, during the late Sasanian period, of the famous *Xwaddāy Nāmag* "Book of Kings". This great chronicle survives mainly in

¹ See V. MINORSKY *BSOAS* XI (1946), 741-64, XII (1947), 20-5, XVI (1954), 91-2; HENNING *Asia Major* n.s. II (1952), 178 n. 2.

² Ed. MINOVI, Tehran, 1935. The above information comes from Gurgani's preface to his poem, MINOVI's ed., 26-7; see further *JRAS* (1957), 36-7.

Arabic derivatives, and, less directly, in the *Šāhnāme*.¹ It is impossible from these to judge it stylistically, but together they probably give an excellent idea of its content. Naturally in these Muslim redactions the Zoroastrian element is reduced to a minimum; but it can hardly be doubted that the original was the work of priests.² In it the reigning dynasty is glorified, and the history of Iran set out through the succession of her kings; but dynasties and events are shaped on a Zoroastrian pattern. The focal point is the life of the prophet. To honour the first champion of the faith, Wištāspa, his dynasty, the Kayanian, had been linked by descent to that of the Pišdadian, one artificially composed of gods, who were represented as culture-heroes and early kings (the linking of these "dynasties" was pre-Sasanian, and provided the framework for the Avestan interpretation of world-history). Now the fame of the Kayanians was used in turn to enhance that of the house of Sasan, their supposed descendants. The truer forerunners (geographically) of the Sasanians, the Achaemenians, exist in the chronicle only to provide, with the first and last Darius, an artificial link between these two dynasties.³ The chronological framework also is Zoroastrian; and it was the exigencies of the Zoroastrian "world-year" which obliged the compilers to reduce by almost half the epoch of the Arsacids,⁴ of whom in any case they had but scanty knowledge (based on confusing king-lists and brief oral chronicles).⁵ Evidently as a historian, no less than as a scientist, the priestly scholar was sometimes trammelled by dogma.

The Arsacids play nevertheless a vigorous, if unacknowledged, part in the chronicle; for the priests, to enrich the bare sequence of royal successions, evidently drew for the early period on the Kayanian minstrel

¹ Pirdausi's *Šāhnāme* (and also Tha'alibi's *Ghurur aḥbār mulūk al-furs*) derives from a work which seems to have been no more than based on the chronicle (see NÖLDEKE, op. cit., 17 ff.). For the older preface to the *Šāhnāme* (with references to some of the literature since NÖLDEKE) see MINORSKY in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di G. Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 159-79.

² Through the *Xwadāy Nāmag* a Persian national tradition was created; but to call it the representative of such a tradition is misleading, although clearly there is a valid distinction to be drawn between it, a composite work fashioned partly for secular reasons, and the purely ecclesiastic tradition of the Avesta and Zand. See particularly CHRISTENSEN in *Les Kayanides* and *Les gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique*, *Conférences Ratanbai Katrak* (Paris, 1936).

³ Artaxerxes Longomanus can hardly be said to figure in the epic, since his individuality is submerged in that of Wahman, grandson of Wištāspa. Knowledge of him appears to have been derived from a Syriac source (see NÖLDEKE op. cit., 13). It is not to be supposed, however, that there was any deliberate suppression of Achaemenian material by the priests. Probably no chronicles or king-lists survived from that period, to which to attach such traditions as were still extant. Had organised information existed, the priestly compilers would undoubtedly have felt obliged to accommodate it somehow in their scheme of history. Their conscientiousness in this respect is shown by their inclusion, however summary, of the Arsacid dynasty.

⁴ See H. LEWY *JAOS* LXIV (1944), 197-214; TAGIZADEH *JRAS* (1947), 33-40.

⁵ See H. LEWY, op. cit.

epic.¹ They had, however, no criteria of criticism by which to disentangle the stories in these minstrel-poems; and so the Saka Rustam and forgotten Arsacid princes—Frahād, Gōdarz and the rest—entered the chronicle in Kayanian company.

The compilers of the *Xwadāy Nāmag* used their epic sources well, and the fire and imagination in these make the Kayanian period the most vivid and remarkable in the chronicle. They drew also on wisdom-literature, providing each king with an enthronement-speech in the *andarz* tradition, and thus imparting, even to the era of barbarism, a moral element. The strain of resignation already noted in the *andarz* fuses readily with the epic feeling for the evanescence of worldly glory; and there may also be an element of Zurvanite fatalism in the compound.² Doubtless in the *Xwadāy Nāmag* itself the certainties of the hereafter were stressed as a corollary to earthly vicissitudes; but in the Muslim redactions such religious consolations are little emphasized.

The compilers further used written foreign sources where such were available, notably a Syriac version of the *Alexander-Romance*.³ The account which this gave of Alexander was at odds with Zoroastrian convictions, but it was nevertheless incorporated, and the discrepancies allowed to stand. Heirs to an age-old oral tradition, with its tendency to conserve rather than to question, the authors of the chronicle had neither the tools nor the training for a critical examination of sources. They aimed, not at testing and rejecting, but at giving coherence to a mass of material connected with a chosen sequence of events. Everything which seemed relevant was included. Their intellectual achievement lies in the assembling of material; in the order and clarity they imposed on heterogeneous—and often basically unrelated—matter; and (for the events of their own epoch) in a growing feeling for historical narrative. They not only provided the Sasanian kings with a long ancestry, but Persia with a history on the grand scale. On this foundation Muslim historiography was largely based.

In the prose work, compounded from Pahlavi materials, from which the *Šāhnāme* derives, two pre-Sasanian legends of genuinely Persian character were evidently incorporated. One is the story of Zariadres and Odatis, included apparently because of a confusion between Zaria-

¹ This appears to have taken place at about the mid-5th century, see NÖLDEKE op. cit., 5; on the use of the epic material see further the references given above, p. 56, n. 4.

² See H. RINGGREN *Fatalism in Persian Epics* (Uppsala, 1952). There is at least one explicitly Zurvanite passage remaining in the *Šāhnāme*, see I. F. BLUE in *Indo-Iranian Studies . . . in honour of . . . P. Sanjana* (London, 1925), 61-2; ZAEHNER *Zurvan* 444-46.

³ See NÖLDEKE op. cit., 12.

dres and the Kayanian Zarēr;¹ the other a romantic account of Ardašir I, which replaces the more factual version of the official chronicle. Fortunately the Pahlavi original of this survives, under the title *Kārnāmag ī Ardašir* ("Book of the Deeds of Ardašir").² This is a short prose work, simple in style, probably written in Pars towards the end of the Sasanian period.³ It too was evidently the work of priests,⁴ and a comparison of it with Firdausi's rendering shows how effectively Zoroastrian elements were obliterated in the Muslim redaction. The *Kārnāmag* contains some historical details; but its generally romantic character has been explained as due to contamination with legends of Cyrus the Great, still current then in Pars.⁵

The *Kārnāmag* was not the only prose work devoted to what was an episode in the chronicle. Ibn an-Nadīm lists,⁶ for example, separate works on Xosrau I, Wāhrām Čōbīn,⁷ Xosrau II, and Rustam and Isfandiyār. These evidently also all belong to the later Sasanian period; but whether they were sources for the *Xwadāy Nāmāg*, or derived from it, or were wholly independent, there is little means of knowing. The *Xwadāy Nāmāg* itself brought the history of the Sasanians down to the death of Yazdegird III. After the Arab conquest a number of separate works were written, dealing with the war and local campaigns.⁸

8. POLITICAL TREATISES

From the court of Xosrau I emanated two political treatises, which survive only in Arabic and Persian translations. These are the "Testament of Ardašir"⁹ and the "Letter of Tansar."¹⁰ As their names show,

¹ See *BSOAS* XVII 3 (1955), 463 ff.

² This is preserved in the codex MK. It has been ed. and transl. by D. P. SANJANA (Bombay, 1896), K. A. NOSHERWAN (Bombay, 1896) and E. K. ANTIA (Bombay, 1900); and was earlier transl., with notes, by NÖLDEKE *Bezzenger's Beiträge* IV (1878), 22-69; see also FR. MÜLLER *Sb. KAW Wien*, CXXXVI (1897), VI. Ch. I-III have been re-edited by NYBERG in his *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*; and the text has been published in Persian transcription, with note: (together with the *Zand ī Wahman Yast*) by SADEQ HEDAYAT, Tehran 1944.

³ See NÖLDEKE *op. cit.*, 23 ff.; it seems likely, however, that it survives in a later redaction, since the language is a very late Middle Persian.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27-8.

⁵ A. v. GUTSCHMID *ZDMG* XXXIV (1880), 585-7 = *Kleine Schriften* III 133 ff.

⁶ *Fihrist*, ed. G. FLÜGEL, 305.4 ff.; see CHRISTENSEN *Les gestes des rois* 57 ff.

⁷ See CHRISTENSEN *Romanen om Bahrām Tchōbīn* (Copenhagen, 1907).

⁸ *Fihrist*, loc. cit.

⁹ Selections from this treatise survive in a number of Arabic works, and in the *Sāhnāme* (see CHRISTENSEN *Les gestes des rois* 90 ff.). The longest extant version is that given by Ibn Miskawayh in his *Tajārīb al-Umam*, published in facsimile in the *Gibb Mem. Series* Vol. VII, 1 (1909) pp. 99 ff., and printed by DEHKHODA *Amsal va Hikam* III, 1615 ff.

¹⁰ This survives in Ibn Isfandiyār's 13th-century Persian translation from the Arabic of Ibn Muqaffa'. It has been ed. by DARMESTETER *JA* 1894, 185-250, 502-55; by MINOVI, (Tehran, 1932);

both were attributed, for greater prestige, to the first reign of the dynasty, and they evidently contain a core of matter transmitted from that period.¹ Both are whole-heartedly Machiavellian. All things are justified in the interests of authority and order. Church and throne are twins, linked in aims and activity, and subjects should submit to their benevolent yoke. Passages which justify bloodshed, or the king's caprice (exercised to prevent in his subjects too dangerous a self-assurance) make chill reading; but both works contain much of interest for Sasanian society. They resemble one another closely; but the "Letter of Tansar" has been made more palatable by the insertion of two Indian fables.² The Persian and Arabic translations are clearly much transformed in style, so that it is impossible to know the character of the originals. In both, however, the *andarz* tradition is in evidence.

9. LAW-BOOKS

It was a Sasanian tenet that even as church and crown were joined together, so religion and the law were indissolubly linked. The judges and lawyers of Sasanian Persia were priests, and for this reason many of the surviving seals (for affixing to documents) are priestly ones. In late Sasanian times there must have existed numerous works on law, for even in the 9th century Manuščīhr writes of consulting "many law-books" (*was dādīstān-nāmāg*).³ Only one survives, however, and that in a single, mutilated MS. This is the *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādīstān* ("Book of a Thousand Judgments").⁴ This lengthy work appears to have been

and by A. IQBAL in his edition of the *Ta'rix-i Ta'baristān* (Tehran, 1942). On the 6th-century dating see CHRISTENSEN *L'Empire des Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1907), 111-12; MINOVI, preface to his edition.

¹ See the introduction to an English translation of the *Letter of Tansar* by the present writer, *Rome Oriental Series, Literary and Historical Texts from Iran* 1, 1967.

² See *Asia Major* n.s. V 1 (1955), 50 ff.

³ *Dā. Purs.* LV1, ed. DHABHAR *The Persian Rivāyats*, p. 184, transl. p. 188. On the Christian Persian law-books see E. SACHAU *Syrische Rechtsbücher* III (Berlin, 1914).

⁴ The unique MS. was at some time split into two. The first 55 folios (which were disarranged) were published in facsimile by J. J. MODI *Mādigān-i Hazār Dādīstān* (Bombay, 1901). The remaining folios, numbered 74-91 (in proper order) were published in facsimile by T. D. ANKLESARIA (with an intro. by MODI) *The Social Code of the Parsses in Sasanian Times or the Mādigān-i Hazār Dādīstān* II (Bombay, 1912). There is a translation by S. J. BULSARA *The Laws of the Ancient Persians* (Bombay, 1937). The work has been extensively studied and commented on by BARTHOLOMAE, notably in 5 papers "Zum sassanidischen Recht" I-V in *Sb. Heidelberger AW.*, 1918-1923 (q.v., 1918, p. 3 for references to earlier papers); *Die Frau im sassanidischen Recht* (Heidelberg, 1924). BARTHOLOMAE maintained that the work defied complete and adequate translation. For other papers on this text see A. PAGLIARO *RSO* XV (1935), 275-315; XXIII (1948), 52-68; N. PIGULEVSKAYA in *Papers presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists*, 1954 (Section Iranian, Armenian and Central Asian Studies); J. DE MENASSE in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à G. Morgenstierne*, (Wiesbaden, 1964), 149-54, Dr. J. M. Unvala *Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1964), 6-11 and *Feux et fondations pieuses dans le droit sassanide* (Paris, 1964);

compiled by one Farroxmard ī Wahrām, possibly in the reign of Xosrau II, the last Sasanian sovereign named in it. It is wholly Sasanian in character, and in it are cited other law-books and many individual commentators (including authorities quoted in the Zand).¹ As its title implies, the work embodies case-history (actual or hypothetical) rather than a systematic legal code. The judgments given are in the main concerned with civil laws, affecting marriage, inheritance, property, rents, trade etc., which could still be observed by the Zoroastrian community under Islam. The technical nature of its contents, the state of the MS., and the usual careless copying make the work very difficult to interpret.

A specimen of a marriage-contract (*paymān ī zan griftan*), dated A. Y. 627 (=1278 A.C.), is preserved in the codex MK.²

10. SHORT DIDACTIC PROSE-WORKS

A number of short miscellaneous treatises survive, mostly in the codex MK. Some are traditional, others deal with contemporary matters. One, a representative of the old oral category of place-name catalogues (cf. GBd. 80¹, *ayādgarīhā ī šahrīhā*), is the *Šahristānīhā ī Ērān*,³ in which are enumerated the chief cities of Iran and the legends attaching to them. This treatise was probably first written down in the 9th century, after the time of the Caliph al-Mansur; but it contains good old traditions, with the usual mingling of predominantly Kayanian and Sasanian elements. The work reflects the interpretation of history given in the *Xwadāy Nāmag*, but with the small modifications of its longer oral transmission.⁴

A work of somewhat similar character, the short *Abdāsh ud sahiḡih ī Sagistān* ("Wonders and remarkable features of Seistan")⁵ recounts the

Boyce, *BSOAS* XXXI i and ii (1968). An edition of the whole text is in preparation by A. PERIKHANIAN in Leningrad.

¹ See DARMESTETER in the intro. to ANKLESARIA's edition, pp. 10-11. DARMESTETER and WEST both saw in a certain Juwānjām, cited several times, the 9th-century father of Manuščār and Zādspram; but nothing else appears to bear out such a late dating for the work.

² JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 141-3, transl. *ibid.* 47-9; see TAVADIA *Die m.-p. Sprache u. Lit.*, 108-09. Transcribed with Russian translation and notes by A. PERIKHANIAN in *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1960, no. 5, 67-75; see further A. PERIKHANIAN and D. N. MACKENZIE in the *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Mem. Volume* (Bombay, in the press).

³ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 18-24; text, transl. and commentary by MARKWART pub. by MESSINA *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Erānshahr* (Rome, 1931), q.v., p. 5, for other publications. On §§ 2-5 see further S. KIVA in *Majall-e-yi Dānīshkade-yi Adabīyyāt*, Tehran, 113 (1334/1955), 47-9.

⁴ See MARKWART, *op. cit.*, 6.

⁵ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 25-6; transl. by MODI (with *ayādgar ī Zarērān* and *Šahristānīhā ī Ērān*), Bombay, 1899. WEST's transcription with translation was published posthumously by E. W. JACKSON in *JAOs* 36, 1916, 115-21.

natural features and traditions which made Seistan pre-eminent. Among these is claimed the oral preservation of the Avesta after Alexander's conquest. The text is corrupt, and bears no indication of date; but it has the distinction of being the only Pahlavi text composed in a province which demonstrably is not Pars.

Another catalogue-work is the *Māh ī Frāwardīn rōz ī Hordād*,¹ in which are enumerated the great events which have taken place, or will take place, on the 6th day of the 1st month, from the creation of Gayōmard to the resurrection. This text appears to have been written in the reign of Xosrau II, although it certainly embodies much older priestly speculations.

Two of the treatises are wholly Sasanian in matter. One, the *Wizārīšn ī Čatrang*,² describes how the game of chess was sent from India to Xosrau I, as a test for Iranian wits; and how the wise Wuzurgmihr both solved it and invented as a counter-challenge that of *Nēw-Ardašēr* (*nard*). This game is interpreted as having an elaborate religious symbolism. The other treatise, *Xosrau ud Rēdag* ("Xosrau and the Page"),³ is also set in the reign of Xosrau I, and may well have been actually written at that time. It tells how a boy of family presents himself, an orphan, to the king, describes his own lineage and training, and asks to be put to the test. The king sets him a series of questions, on what is best in food, wines, music, scents, flowers, women, horses etc. The page's answers create vividly a world of courtly luxury and the refinements of sensual delight. Nevertheless there is reason to regard this work also as of priestly redaction. In genre it belongs essentially to the wisdom-literature: there is the theme of trial by knowledge, and instruction is conveyed in every answer. There are, moreover, some overt priestly touches. The boy's mother is of priestly family; he has learned the Avesta and Zand by heart; and when asked finally if he himself greatly desires material things, he answers that his sole wish is for 1000 good deeds, such

¹ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 102-08; transl. by E. BLOCHET in *Revue archéologique* (Paris, 1895), 17-22; K. J. JAMASP-ASA in *K.R. Cama Mem. Vol.* (Bombay, 1900), 122-29.

² JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 115-20 (q.v., p. 40, for an earlier publication); transcribed and transl. by C. SALEMANN *Bull. de l'Ac. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg* (1887), 427 ff.; transl. by TARAPÖRE *Vijārīšn ī Čatrang* (Bombay, 1932). On the historical background see further MARQUART and DE GROOT *Festschrift E. Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), 257; O. HANSEN in a publication presented to XIX Congr. intern. degli Orientalisti (Rome, 1935); general notes by A. PAGLIARO *RSO* XV111 (1940), 328-40, and *Miscellanea G. Galbati*, III (Milan, 1951), 97-110. The treatise was embodied in the source used by Firdausi and Tha'alibi.

³ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 27-38; J. M. UNVALA "Der Pahlavi-Text 'Der König Xosrau und sein Knabe'" Wien (1917) [also in French and English versions]. The text appears in Tha'alibi. M. NAVAB, who studied the text with W. B. HENNING, has published notes on it in the *Nāšriyyāt-i Dānīshkade-yi Adabīyyāt*, Tabriz, VII i, 97-112.

as the king has performed.—Added to the main text (which is difficult because of its abundance of rare words) is a trite little story of how the page subsequently accomplished a routine heroic feat in subduing two lions. This is evidently a later vulgarisation.

Three short texts, probably all post-Sasanian, are purely practical in content. One is a little Pazand work on the *xwēškārīh ī vēdagān* ("duties of boys"),¹ containing simple precepts for schoolboys. Another is a brief manual on letter-writing (*nāmāg-nibēsišnīh*),² and the third contains a specimen after-dinner speech.³ Ibn an-Nadīm lists other practical manuals on such subjects, as polo and falconry.⁴

II. GLOSSARIES

The Sasanians made, it seems, no dictionaries or grammars of their language; but there exists a glossary of Avestan words and their Middle Persian equivalents (*Frahang ī oīm-ēwag*),⁵ based on the Zand, from which citations are made. In this there is an attempt at defining grammatical categories. A fragment survives of a glossary of Aramaic terms in Pahlavi, with their Middle Persian equivalents,⁶ which belongs probably to the 9th or 10th century. A later work of this nature, the *Frahang ī pahlawīg*,⁷ includes some archaic Iranian words and their commoner synonyms. In it the ideograms are often corruptly or carelessly written, and artificial forms also occur.

12. PROSE WORKS OF ENTERTAINMENT

Among later Sasanian translations of foreign books were prose works of entertainment. One was the Hellenistic romance later known as *Wāmīg wā 'Adhrā*,⁸ said to have been dedicated in translation to Xosrau

¹ DARMESTETER JA 1889, 355 ff.; ANTIA *Pazand Texts*, 73 ff.; JUNKER Sb. *Heidelberger AW.*, 1912, Abh. 15; FREIMAN *Dastur Hoshang Mem. Vol.*, 482 ff.

² JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 132-40; transcribed and transl. by ZACHNER BSOAS IX 1 (1937), 93-109.

³ JAMASP-ASANA *Pahl. Texts* 155-59; TAVADIA J. of the K. R. Cama Oriental Inst. XXIX (1935), 1-99.

⁴ *Fihrist* ed. FLÜGEL, 314, 21-22, 315, 16.

⁵ See WEST GIP II, 87; also ed. by C. SALEMANN in *Travaux de la 1^{re} session du congrès international des orientalistes*, St Pétersbourg 1876, II, 493-591; subsequently ed. by H. REICHEL in *Frahang ī oīm* (Wien, 1900) and in WZKM XIV (1900), 177-213, and XV (1901), 117-186.

⁶ See BARR BSOAS VIII (1936) 391-403.

⁷ Ed. JUNKER *The Frahang ī Pahlawīg* (Heidelberg, 1912); see further B. GEIGER WZKM XXV (1912), 294-306; SCHAEFER *Iranische Beiträge* I, 225-54; E. EBELING *Mittel. d. Altorientalischen Ges.*, Leipzig, XIV 1 (1941); JUNKER *Das Frahang ī Pahlawīg in zeichengemässer Anordnung* (Leipzig, 1955).

⁸ See M. SHAFI *Proceedings of the XXIIIrd International Congress of Orientalists* (Cambridge, 1954), 160-1.

I. From India came such works as the *Tūtī Nāmāg*, *Sindbād Nāmāg*, *Balauhar ud Būdāsaf*¹ and *Kalilag ud Dimnag*. The last-named derived from the *Pančatantra*, and according to its preface² (preserved in the translation of Ibn Muqaffa³) was rendered into Persian by Burzōē, a physician of the time of Xosrau. There were also separate short stories such as the two in the *Letter of Tansar*. The Indian tales came evidently from more than one source, some perhaps directly from Buddhist communities in the north-east,⁴ others through Manichaean intermediaries.⁵ They are characterised by being told avowedly for some moral purpose, or being set in an edifying framework.

Persia herself had an oral tradition of story-telling. "The professional story-teller . . . had his place at court, and the richness of his repertoire is implied by the fact that he was forbidden ever to repeat himself, unless at the king's command."⁶ Probably for a long time the short story was considered unworthy of being written down; but, under the stimulus perhaps of these foreign works, collections of tales were made. Their exact nature is unknown. The most famous is the *Hazār Afsān* ("Thousand Tales"), said to be the origin of the "Thousand and One Nights", but Ibn an-Nadīm says that he saw the Persian book more than once, and found it a collection of tedious traditions only.⁷ Possibly the dignity attaching to the written word led to a certain restraint in the writing of indigenous short stories during the Sasanian period.

13. THE MS.-TRADITION

The Zoroastrian MS.-tradition is relatively late. A colophon exists belonging to a MS. copied in 1020 A.C.; but the MS. (K 43) in which it is preserved was itself written in the 16th century. The oldest extant MSS. belong to the 14th century.⁸ The Indian MS.-tradition depends on the Iranian one, MSS. having been brought to India from Iran from the 13th century onwards,⁹ but a few works (including the *Škand-Gumānīg Wizār*) were preserved (in Pazand version) only by the Parsis. There

¹ See D. M. LANG BSOAS XX (1957) 389 ff., and *The Wisdom of Balahvar, a Christian legend of the Buddha* (London, 1957).

² See NÖLDEKE *Burzōēs Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalila wa Dimna, übersetzt und erläutert* (Schriften d. Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg, 12), 1912.

³ See *Asia Major* n.s. V i (1955), 53 ff.

⁴ See W. BANG *Le Muston XLIV* (1931), 1-36; HENNING BSOAS XI (1945), 465-87.

⁵ See JRAS (1957), 34.

⁶ *Fihrist* ed. FLÜGEL 304.19; see V. HAMMER-PURGSTALL JA 1839, 177-6.

⁷ On colophons, palaeography etc. see particularly BARTHOLOMAE *Die Zend Handschriften, UNVALA Colophons*.

⁸ See WEST GIP II 80.

seems to have been a break in continuity of the Pahlavi tradition in India;¹ but from the 14th century onwards Indian copyists were again active, although a number of important works did not reach their country till the 18th and 19th centuries. A few trifling orthographic divergences characterise the Indian MSS. The standards of copying in both countries were in the main low, carelessness aggravating the difficulties of a dead language and ambiguous script.

The problems presented by both were and are considerable. The Manichaean texts provide help, in that they have preserved the Middle Persian of the early Sasanian period, in an orthography which gives a clear indication of most of the sounds. From them it appears that the orthography of the Phl. books represents in the main a pre-Sasanian stage of the language, but that syntax and vocabulary are in general that of late Middle Persian. Manichaean MP. is the language of Pars. The MP. of the Zoroastrian books is a literary *koine* merging into Persian, with many northern forms mingling with those of the south. Since Persian was known to the copyists, there was naturally an unconscious temptation for them to modernise syntax and spellings still further, especially where the older forms of words had usually been ideographically represented. This unintentional modernisation was joined with some deliberate but misguided attempts at archaising, and the two processes produced bastard forms which never existed in the spoken tongue. Thus the language of the Phl. books, like so much of their contents, is a tangled web of ancient and modern, of authentic and speculative. It is preserved, moreover, in a script so ambiguous that, for instance, such different words as *xānag* and *āhōg* look exactly alike, and one stroke alone distinguishes *wistāxw* from *gētīgān*. A misreading, or the faulty transposition of an ideogram by a copyist, and the sense becomes distorted. Fortunately in this century not only has the Manichaean material greatly enlarged knowledge of Middle Persian, but the discovery of more Phl. inscriptions, and of older documents written in a less cursive form of the script, has helped to resolve many of the difficulties of the MS.-tradition; but much editing and re-editing remains to be done.²

¹ See TAVADIA *ZDMG* 98 (1944), 303 ff.

² The short *Vādīa Nash* has only recently been edited for the first time by F. M. KORWAL (Bombay, 1966), who has shown this particular work to be a 18th-century forgery. Other unedited texts are still to be found in the libraries of Navsari and Bombay.

NOTE: This article was sent to press in 1958. Bibliographical additions to the notes have been made up to April 1967.

THE MANICHAEAN LITERATURE IN MIDDLE IRANIAN

BY

MARY BOYCE

I. INTRODUCTORY

Three factors separate the Manichaean texts from other Middle Iranian writings. One is script. The Manichaean books were all written in a variant of the Palmyrenean script, familiar to Mani at his birthplace near Babylon, which was applied by him to Middle Persian and subsequently used for other Iranian languages.¹ This script is a clear and elegant one; and with it the Iranian Manichaeans evolved an excellent scribal tradition. A second factor is that of content. Although the Manichaean MSS., like the Zoroastrian ones, contain some general matter, the proportion is in their case minute. In the main they are strictly religious; and the Manichaean religion, although preached by a prophet of Iranian blood, had Semitic and Graeco-Semitic elements, which give it in some respects a foreign character, both in doctrine and literary forms.

The third factor is that of date of discovery, and nature of the material. The Manichaean writings were first discovered in the early decades of this century, among the sand-buried ruins of monasteries in the Turfan basin, in Chinese Turkestan.² The MSS. were of various kinds—the bound book, the scroll and the Indian-type *pothi*; and were made of leather, silk or (mostly) of excellent paper, written with fine ink and often beautifully illuminated. Part of one tiny MS. survives almost undamaged (M 80r a); but otherwise all the MSS. have been reduced to fragments, probably largely through the zeal of Muslim conquerors,

¹ See HENNING *Handbuch* 1, IV 173, with references.

² Most of the material was discovered by 4 German expeditions sent out in 1902-3, 1904-5, 1905-7 and 1913-14 by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. The larger part of it is now in the Institut für Orientforschung, Berlin; and about a fourth part in the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. A small number of fragments discovered by Russian archaeologists is in Leningrad; and a few others were found by Japanese and Chinese expeditions. There is one small fragment in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see HENNING *BSOAS* XI 4 (1946) 713 n. 6), and some half-dozen in the British Museum. The fragments in Man. script found by the German expeditions have been catalogued in *A Catalogue of the Iranian MSS. in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Berlin, 1960), and a bibliography is given there, pp. V-VI.